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A Good War to Have

Argentina asserts sovereignty over a big wedge of ice and snow running to the South Pole; Admiral Byrd is rushing an expedition to make good our Antarctic claim; Britain, Germany and France are all involved. Here is a chance for a clean-cut war about something that everybody can understand—land grabbing. It would be as far from home as possible. There are no inhabitants to be gassed, maimed, shell-shocked and scattered from their homes, no cathedrals or power plants to be ruined. Maybe the armies couldn't find each other. It would be possible to ship down there everybody who is really spoiling for a fight and must have a war of some kind, and the rest of us could enjoy the mild excitement of hearing about it at a safe distance. There could be an international agreement to ban the use of all weapons except snowballs—ice-balls strictly barred. And when it was all over it would be perfectly clear to everybody without any argument that there had been nothing worth fighting about.

We Appease Also

Those Americans who justly criticize the Chamberlain government for granting Japan the best of two worlds, by recognizing in effect her belligerent status in China without putting her to the embarrassment of declaring war, should remember that their own government is equally guilty. We go on indignantly protesting against the illegality of Japanese action, but by not proclaiming that she is at war—as the President is empowered and intended to do under the Neutrality Act—we fail to forbid her purchase of munitions from us. If it is not desired to apply the Neutrality Act, we could still embargo exports of war supplies to her as Senator Pittman has suggested. Both Congress and the State Department are cool to this proposal because it would be unneutral. Finally, it would be possible to take the legally neutral action often urged by The New Republic: (1) to embargo all exports of scrap iron and steel, which are essential to Japan and are used largely by Germany and Italy but are not important to Britain and France, (2) to seek an international agreement to embargo exports of petroleum and its products to nations at war, (3) to follow up the President's request to aircraft manufacturers not to sell military planes to nations guilty of civilian bombing—a request fully as effective as law—by a similar request to producers of high-test gasoline, essential for military planes and not produced in Japan.

The Mayors Look at the WPA

The most important criticism of the new WPA law yet heard has just come from the United States Conference of Mayors. These men are in touch with the hard realities of the unemployment situation. They declare that the new law is unworkable and that under it the whole WPA program will collapse. They say that projects cannot be carried on under the $52,000 limit, the requirement for a 25-percent local contribution, reduced allowances for materials and the reduced

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basic pay in the North and West. Already there are a million men, able and willing to work, for whom no work exists. This number will be two million within a few months. The argument is convincing but there is not much point in addressing it to Congress. Many members of that body, it is clear, wanted the program to break down and voted for the bill with that intention. Hope must lie in such a protest from the whole country as even these Congressmen must heed.

Another Refugee Conference

Nearly every day the newspapers report trouble for a group of refugees from Germany somewhere in the world. As one country after another increases the bars against them, their plight becomes steadily worse. President Roosevelt has now invited the nations represented at the Evian Conference to meet in Washington in the early autumn to discuss aid for these victims of prejudice and tyranny. But what, one wonders, can possibly come of such a conference? Not a single great nation is willing to admit refugees in numbers at all adequate to the need. The United States is behaving as badly as any other power, refusing to relax its quota system even for a few thousand children for whom foster parents are ready and waiting in this country. There has been some talk of large-scale settlements in the tropics, mostly in places so undesirable that white men are reluctant to live there; but thus far, such plans have not resulted in anything substantial. When the history of these dreadful years is written, it will be recorded that the brutality of Hitler's government was very nearly matched by that of the other powers which closed their gates against his victims.

Are Government Workers People?

The Hatch bill, "an act to prevent pernicious political activities," has passed both the House and Senate and, it is generally expected, will shortly receive the President's signature. It would be hard for President Roosevelt to do anything but sign. The bill is designed to prevent the New Deal from "buying" the 1940 elections with the federal money its various agencies have the power to distribute. Obviously if the President vetoes the Hatch bill he will bring down a storm of furious editorials from the predominantly anti-Roosevelt press. "You see," they will say, "our charges that the New Deal is trying to purchase the elections with the taxpayers' money are true! Or else why should Roosevelt try to kill the measure?"

If the Hatch bill is honestly intended to prevent a dishonest use of federal funds, and if there is any danger that the administration would use its patronage dishonestly, its passage and signing are obviously desirable. But the wording of the law and the allegiance of its chief proponents make us think that it may have been merely a convenient tool for the New Deal's

be sure the law will not keep government employees from all political activity (except actually voting). If it does so, what becomes of the argument that WPA employees have not the right to strike against the government, but must correct their grievances through "legitimate political activity"?

The New Masses Misrepresents

If anyone wants to have proof of what distortion The New Masses can be guilty of, let him read, first, the editorial in our issue of July 19 on "Roosevelt, Stalin and Neutrality," then The New Masses' editorial in its issue of July 25 on "The Neutrality Fight." The New Masses not only does not attempt to answer our argument; it does not even state it. It answers something else—an argument that we did not make and have never made—"that the United States can isolate itself from world events." It misrepresents our position in minor points as well, for instance by saying that we charge the Soviet Union with quibbling and sabotage of the Anglo-Soviet pact. On the contrary, we said the Soviet government was justifiably holding out for conditions without which it would not agree to make war as an ally of Great Britain. And we said, and still maintain, that this attitude punctures the collective-security slogan that participation in a world war by the Soviet Union—or the United States—is inevitable.

When the Governor Isn't Funny

The whole nation has had a hearty laugh at Governor Dickinson of Michigan with his talk about "the rules of high life" which "pair" innocent young women with hellions who are out to ruin them. Governor Dickinson is funny, but the regime of which he is the figurehead is not. That regime is the legacy of the late Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald, who set out to undo all the fine work of Frank Murphy. Under the Fitzgerald-Dickinson dispensation, a thoroughly bad State Labor Relations Act has been passed. School funds and aid to dependent children have been curtailed. The merit system has been thrown out the window. Governor Dickinson is old-fashioned not merely in his attitude on the temptations of the great cities but in permitting political corruption, inefficiency and waste that go back a good fifty years in American political life.

Byrnes Still Sits on the Lid

Senator Schwellenbach recently asked Senator Byrnes—as The New Republic has asked him twice before—what had happened to the resolution appropriating additional funds for the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, so that it might continue its investigation and hold open hearings on the Associated Farmers. Senator Byrnes indicated that the Senate Audit Committee, of which he is chairman, had not

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civil-liberties section of the Department of Justice could carry on the investigation with funds the Senate had recently appropriated for it. The following day Attorney General Frank Murphy announced that such an investigation is not within the power of his department, although he had previously believed that it was. That removes Senator Byrnes's chief argument against the resolution, and he has been informed in addition that the AFL, the CIO, the National Grange and the Associated Farmers themselves have asked for open hearings.

A much feebler argument against reporting the resolution was that Senator Byrnes was not aware that the Committee's activities had resulted in the framing of legislation. Now that its bill to prohibit anti-labor practices has been favorably reported to the Senate by unanimous vote of the Committee on Education and Labor, according to the logic of his position he should immediately bring out the resolution—but we do not think Senator Byrnes a logical man. We doubt that he will do so, unless he hears from the country in unmistakable terms.

White Wings in Cold Spring Harbor

The good merchants of Huntington, Long Island, are having a snit over the invasion of their sacrosanct territory by the street-cleaning department of New York City. They have asked for a sweeping injunction against the new tenants of the late Otto Kahn's beautiful 100-room chateau; they would prohibit the sale of beer and cigars, the playing of baseball, quoits and all other forms of recreation, the provision of board and lodging for street cleaners, etc, on the 400-acre estate. The grounds for such an injunction, according to the Huntington squires, lie in alleged violations of the local building-code ordinances in a residential zone. Possibly they are right on legal grounds, but people get mad first and look up the "legal grounds" for their rage afterward. We suspect that the indignant residents of the fashionable Cold Spring Harbor district are simply anxious to protect the snob-appeal of their addresses. Surely their concern is based on too much modesty. Who could confuse a Huntington business man with a street cleaner, even if they both wore playsuits?

Spanish Tug-of-War

The quarreling and murdering that have been going on among the victors in the Spanish war has at last culminated in the removal from their posts of two of Franco's best-known generals, Queipo de Llano and Juan Yagüe. Both of them have formerly made speeches criticizing the regime, and Yagüe was imprisoned during the war, some fifteen months ago, reportedly for leading an opposition movement within the Falange—the Spanish Fascist organization.

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The serious inner struggle going on am[illegible]

Spanish is not merely an ideological question as between monarchists or fascists on the German-Italian model. Yagüe was a Falangist, but now he is coöperating with the Carlists. De Llano is a militarist; he too is a friend of monarchy now. Ramón Serrano Suñer, Franco's brother-in-law, has developed into the highest leader of the Falange next to Franco himself; they are both descendants of a liberal family. Labels, as usual, mean little or nothing. What are the real magnets drawing the two groups of leaders apart? It seems most likely that Yagüe and de Llano are standing for British interests, while Franco and Serrano are certainly tied to Italy. The prominent Spanish general, Miguel Aranda, said recently, in an interview with the Portuguese Diario de Lisboa, that he favored better relations with England and economic freedom for Spain, not autarchy. That is, of course, just what the City of London wants, and just how it has said it would win Spain from the Axis.

News Notes of a Week

Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced that the British government had offered to guarantee export credits to Poland up to $40,000,000 for purchase of British defense materials. This was in addition to the $25,000,000 loan already being negotiated. . . . Germany was discussing her famine of raw materials, at times so acute that it threatened to bring production to a standstill. . . . Lucian Sampaix, editor of the Paris Communist daily, L'Humanité, was summoned to appear in court on charges arising from the newspaper's revelations of widespread counter-espionage investigations. Henri de Kerillis, editor of the conservative Epoque, which also printed the news, and other Paris editors protested the charges as interference with the freedom of the press. . . . The United States embassy in Spain located three Americans, Rudolph Opara, Anthony Kerlicker and Lawrence Doran, captured while fighting in the International Brigades and serving sentences of thirty years each in Central Prison, Burgos.

Mars was at its closest point to earth, only 36,000,000 miles away, and some Americans were looking over their shoulders for Orson Welles. . . . The Department of Agriculture expected to extend its stamp plan to distribute surplus foods, recently tried out in Rochester, New York, and three other communities, to more than a hundred cities by next spring. . . . Dr. L. M. Birkhead of the Friends of Democracy submitted to the State Department a list of seven men he charges are Nazi propagandists. Father Coughlin headed the list. . . . William Desmond, an employee of the International Harvester Company, testified at a National Labor Relations Board hearing in Sterling, Illinois. The Board's attorney asked him what position he held in the Rock Falls Employees' Association. "I'm a

The Neutrality Fiasco

ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has apparently decided not to stump the country in favor of his proposal for neutrality revision, the debate is bound to go on throughout the summer. Rarely has a public controversy about an important matter been conducted with less enlightenment as to the issues at stake.

The difference as it has come forth crudely in the press appears to lie between those who have resolved to retain the absolute embargo on shipments of "arms, ammunition and implements of war" to any belligerent, and those who are fighting to lift this embargo and permit sales of munitions on the cash-and-carry plan. The refusal of Congress to do what the President wishes in this respect is represented as a great contribution to the strength of Hitler and Mussolini because it denies Britain and France the right to buy military goods in this country after war breaks out. The real situation is, however, far less simple than this.

The Western European democracies control the tradeways on the Atlantic, and their superior naval power will probably enable them to do so indefinitely in any war. They have almost a monopoly of purchasing power for our goods, because of the large stocks of gold they own here and can ship to us, the bank balances and investments in this country belonging to their nationals, and their normally large exports to us. Italy and Germany have negligible financial resources of this kind. Unless we actively interfere in behalf of the probable aggressors, by lending money to them or challenging British and French sea power, the weight of our economic support is certain to be thrown behind the democracies in any war, with or without any conceivable kind of neutrality legislation.

The arms embargo places a legal restriction on part of this trade. But how important is that restriction? The French and British habitually make their own warships, guns, tanks, shells and powder. Even in airplane production they are now ahead of Germany. During the last war their purchases of actual munitions in this country constituted a tiny part of their orders here. It is likely to be so again. They do rely on us for large amounts of food, cotton, minerals, chemicals and all kinds of manufactured and semi-manufactured products which are not covered by the embargo. Mere retention of the embargo will not do much to keep us from being so entangled in the Allied cause, economically and politically, as to be driven toward participation on their side. Repeal of it would not do much, either to aid them or to discourage their enemies.

A far more important safeguard would be the cash-and-carry plan applied to all war trade not actually embargoed. This plan would have two important reof the subject. It would automatically reinforce any blockade or commerce-destroying activities by the powers that control the sea. In the last war, before our entrance, we had serious trouble with Great Britain because she searched our ships, seized them and their cargoes, and otherwise interfered with our foreign trade in her effort to prevent supplies from getting to the Central Powers. Our continual protests against these practices hampered her efforts to prosecute the War. If we had backed up these protests energetically, the result would have been either a virtual nullification of British sea power or our entrance into the War on the side of Germany. Later defense of the same rights of trade against Germany, after her unrestricted submarine warfare began, led to our actual *casus belli*. The cash-and-carry plan would obviate all this difficulty. It says to both sides: "Buy what you want as long as you can pay cash for it and carry it away. Do what you can to interrupt supplies going from us to your enemies. We shall not interfere, because neither the supplies nor the ships in which they are being carried will belong to American citizens. Our economic interest stops at the harbor mouth."

The other important influence of the cash-and-carry plan is that it would automatically set some limit to what belligerents could buy here, since they could not float loans or use the proceeds for purchases. The great and menacing problem of war debts could not arise, either to distort our economy with a war boom, to implicate us in the war through economic channels, or to cause trouble later. Thus the puzzle of economic entanglement would be reduced to somewhat more manageable proportions.

The neutrality law of 1937 gave the President power, in his discretion, to apply the cash-and-carry plan to exports other than those completely embargoed, if these exports menaced our peace. This provision, in our opinion, left too much discretion with him; all trade with belligerents under the old conditions would menace our peace, and the cash-and-carry plan should be generally applied. Nevertheless it was a step in the right direction. But this provision of the act automatically expired on May 1, 1939. To restore it and strengthen it are by far the most important revisions necessary in the neutrality law. The Senate isolationists, by retaining the arms embargo while allowing the cash-and-carry plan to go by default, stopped the mouse-hole and left the barn door open. The President, by conducting his campaign solely against the arms embargo while failing to emphasize the importance of cash-and-carry, gave far more aid to the aggressors than did his opponents.

The Bloom bill, even as amended by Vorys and passed by the House, would have given Britain and France all the aid in the matter of munitions that they really want, as T.R.B. points out in his Washington

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have restored cash-and-carry. It would furthermore have provided still another desirable safeguard not in the existing law—it would have permitted the President to outline war zones which American ships would not have been permitted to enter, even if they did not carry supplies forbidden to them under the cash-and-carry provision.

A large majority of the American people wants two things in respect to a possible war: it wants, first, to keep out of it and so to avoid unnecessary economic and political entanglement; it wants, second, within these limits, to give all possible economic aid to the Western democracies. The cash-and-carry plan, with or without embargo on arms, comes as near to filling this prescription as is humanly possible. Mr. Roosevelt made a stupid blunder in not accepting and pushing the Bloom bill as passed by the House. If he had done so, it would probably have passed the Senate too. As it is, we have our arms embargo, but no safeguard against controversies with British sea power about the far more important trade in other supplies, no protection against economic involvement or quarrels about searches, seizures and sinkings at sea. If European war should break out before anything more is done, we should now be in almost the same position as before 1917. If it is too late to retrieve the error before Congress adjourns, the debate should be conducted along these lines in the future. Senate isolationists, mere politicians and an obstinate President have so far combined to befuddle the issue and obstruct the will of the people.

That Boom in Business

TWO CIRCUMSTANCES have combined to attract public attention to the possibility of a new business recovery—a sudden lift in stock prices and a statement by the President that the defeat of his program on neutrality might hamper a promising boom. What substance is there in this hope or this fear?

The behavior of stock prices has been shown by careful study to be of no use whatever as a business barometer. A rise of stocks more often than not fails to precede a recovery in business. Stock prices frequently do not even follow the business curves very closely. If one wants to account for what happens on Wall Street, one has to go in the realm of market mythology, the psychology of speculators and irrelevant forces like the operations of important financial groups. One entertaining explanation has been offered for the recent sudden boom. The Dow theory, resting on past market records, has obtained wide acceptance among brokers and their customers. This theory, though based on elaborate statistics, is probably little more reliable in reality than the countless systems for speculators that have preceded it. But the mere fact that it is so widely accepted has made it operate in the present instance. The theory indicated that stocks were now due for a sustained rise; many started to buy and so brought about the rise predicted.

Industrial production, as shown by the Federal Reserve index, offers material for encouragement, though not for assurance. Recovery from the big depression went on rapidly though intermittently until 1937. Then came a sharp fall—the sharpest ever recorded, from the peak at the end of 1936 to a low in the middle of 1938. This brought us back to the 1934 level—at about 76 percent of the 1923-25 average. Following this setback there began a swift rise, which culminated at 104 in December, 1938. The beginning of this year saw another drop—to 92 in April. In May the figure was unchanged, and since then we have been on the way up again. The fact that the index is rising is of course hopeful. But so far it has been rising only for two months, and it probably is little if any higher than it was fifteen years ago, when we had a smaller population and far less capacity for output. The index was above the present figure all through 1936, and for ten months of 1937, and at the end of 1938.

If one looks behind the rough figures to see if there is any basis for prediction, there emerges slightly more solid ground for hope than they alone offer. Sales to consumers seem to be holding up well. Inventories are low—the swift drop in 1937 was largely a matter of reduction in inventories—and so a resumption of business buying of consumers' goods is in order. This has occurred several times since 1932, and has always caused good business—that is, business good relative to the bottom of the depression, but not good enough to reduce unemployment below 10,000,000 or to make anywhere near full use of our productive capacity. Movements of this kind, however, wear themselves out within a few months and are regularly followed by recession.

What has always been lacking since 1929 is a large and growing volume of new investment that would keep construction and the heavy industries busy. Is this now in sight? A good deal of comfort is extracted from the fact that the steel industry is expanding. Yet steel had a marked revival in 1937, without much new long-term investment or many orders from the building industry, and its activity shrank later as quickly as it had grown. Perhaps it is now benefiting from armament orders, both domestic and foreign; if so, there seems little likelihood of an early reversal. Congress appropriated a large sum of money for the army and navy. An armament boom certainly could make business good for a considerable period, as it has in other countries; nevertheless we have not yet gone in sufficiently for a militarized economy to solve all our troubles in this way, even temporarily. Outside of governmental investment, there seems to be no marked revival of private large-scale construction.

One limited reason for hope exists—the figures of

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construction contracts awarded. From the low point of 25 percent of the 1923-25 average, in the year 1933, these have shown a slowly but steadily rising trend, without such marked downward fluctuations as the curve of industrial production. They are now almost 75 percent of the 1923-25 average. If they go on upward, they can do much to help a boom, as they did in the "New Era," when in 1928 they reached a top of 135. Will they go on, without more governmental stimulation than has already been applied? There is little sign yet that they surely will. A sign that they may, however, is the fact that residential construction, a laggard for years, has been rising for several months, and this year reached a higher point than it has occupied since 1932—the dizzy peak of 58 in April. When building really comes back, there may be a real boom.

Back to Appeasement

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER had a great deal to explain when he rose in the House of Commons on July 24. In the Far East, Great Britain and Japan had just come to an agreement which private British sources in that area angrily described as "an Oriental Munich." Nearer home, the Prime Minister had to repudiate the conversations between Robert Hudson, British Secretary for Overseas Trade, and Helmuth Wohlthat, German economic adviser. These conversations sketched the broad outline of a colossal new appeasement plan under which England and other powers would make a vast loan to Germany, Germany would partly disarm and the two countries would coöperate in the commercial field.

The Anglo-Japanese agreement is a weasel-worded document which could be interpreted to mean anything or nothing. Under it Great Britain recognizes the "special requirements" of the Japanese army in China and will do nothing to sabotage those requirements. The British say that their policy is not changed, Japan has not received belligerent rights and continued aid to China is still possible. The blunt truth is that England is nearly helpless in the Far East so long as the European situation remains what it is—unless of course she could count on the American fleet. She has therefore made the best of a bad matter by postponing the real decision for the time being. The concession to Japan might be regarded as preparatory to a stiffer front in Europe, but the most disturbing aspect of the understanding is the fact that it seems to be accompanied by a tendency toward appeasement everywhere.

Is such a policy now in the making? In trying to answer this question one need not give too much attention to the Hudson-Wohlthat plan. We find it impossible to believe that responsible officials of the fate of the world entirely on their own hook; but in any case, premature publicity has doubtless wrecked the scheme. As a British proposal it was a ridiculous piece of folly: Germany will not give up even part of her armament in exchange for a loan or anything else. If the plan had been tried, Germany would undoubtedly have taken the money and gone on exactly as before.

Far more important than the Hudson-Wohlthat scheme is the question of Chamberlain's whole policy. The talks with Moscow drag on in a way that suggests the British are deliberately procrastinating, although if they really wanted a Peace Front they would want it as quickly as possible. In London, rumors are circulating that Danzig is to be handed over to Germany. True, England has said she will fight if Poland does; but there are ways of forcing Poland to acquiesce. Already, it is said, the Cabinet at Warsaw is split on this issue. We do not know whether these reports are true, but we see nothing inherently improbable in them. Mr. Chamberlain's own instinct has always been for appeasement; clearly, he still regards the Russians as more impossible than the Nazis. His mind refuses to embrace the idea that Hitler's ambition is limitless, that every concession to him makes his next demand more brazen.

If Britain and Poland really intend to be firm about Danzig, however, Hitler, who needs a demonstration somewhere, may turn to the Balkans. Competent international observers like John Gunther and Webb Miller suggest that Hitler still has at least two important places to strike that are not subject to British and French guarantees—Hungary and Yugoslavia. Just as Mussolini, after saying so much about Tunisia, turned to something easier and less dangerous, Hitler may find an Albania of his own.

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News Is Suppressed

News is suppressed. All newspaper workers know it. The general public knows it and suspects an even worse situation than exists—as is always the case when the hush-hush system prevails. The very tiny minority of the American population which does not know and never even suspects that there is somehow, somewhere, suppression of news is apparently composed of only the publishers of our 2,200 daily newspapers and their house organ, Editor and Publisher.

The publishers came to boo Secretary Ickes some months ago when he said we had no free press; seventeen of them sat in a group and acted like college freshmen; but that was nothing compared to the roaring that followed in the columns of their newspapers. If these men speak sincerely, they should visit the Guild headquarters in New York City and talk to reporters. I have never in thirty years met a newspaperman who did not admit that there was advertising pressure. William Allen White's accusations against the American press are more severe than Mr. Ickes'.

To me the subject of actual suppression of news was never so important as the perversion of big news—for example, the unfair treatment of labor and especially the CIO, and the strange behavior of the press in 1936, to which The New Republic devoted an entire supplement. However, in the course of keeping press archives during the past decade, I have accumulated twelve folders, with from ten to a hundred items in each, of types of suppressed news which I would like to call to the notice of our brave and incorruptible publishers.

Readers of The New Republic will remember the Bruce Barton case which was suppressed in the majority of New York papers. Here was a first-class sensation whose suppression can hardly be excused on grounds of "good taste" because it was reported honestly in the ultra-respectable Times. The inference was that the Barton suit (which charged a woman with blackmail) was generally suppressed because Barton's firm, Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborne, controlled many million dollars' worth of advertising. Newspapermen have maintained that the same influence was responsible for the scant coverage given to the 1938 campaign of Walter Liebman, Barton's opponent in the New York "silk-stocking" congressional district.

The worst case of the suppression of news in recent times is the Gauley Bridge silicosis story. (At this point I must say that it is extremely difficult for me to make my charges against the commercial press sound sensational in the columns of non-commercial publications, inasmuch as the readers of the latter already know many of these facts; on the other hand the commercial papers taking this store's ads, were played up in many for example, is well known to the readers of The People's Press, which "broke" the news (December 7, 1935) after Albert Maltz had published a tragic fictional story in The New Masses (January 8, 1935). The Federated Press sent out the news and all the liberal-labor publications of America published it.

But why did the Associated Press, the United Press and the Hearst wire services get scooped? For the same reasons that the West Virginia papers and the neighboring Pittsburgh papers suppressed the story. And for the same reasons that The New York Times, which suppressed the story, wrote an editorial denouncing it. Let us look at the Times record. On January 28, 1936, The Times, having suppressed throughout December the news which was now leading to a congressional investigation, said the story was "too harrowing for acceptance at its face value." The report that 476 had died "and that 1,500 more are suffering from the disease," The Times thought "based on mountain gossip and an article published in a Midwestern radical weekly." (This is one of the smear techniques mentioned by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis: here The Times is pinning the radical label on the story.) Moreover, The Times demanded "as much publicity" for the contractor as for the accusers. But The Times suppressed the names of the corporations involved. (The New Republic editorial named them: Rinehart and Dennis, contractors for the New-Kanawha Power Company, subsidiary of the Electro-Metallurgical Company, owned by Union Carbide and Chemical.)

The Times also ran these news stories: "Silicosis Hazards called 'Sheer Bunk'" and "Silicosis Waning, Doctors Are Told." But in August, 1936, it changed to "500,000 Exposed to Silicosis Daily" and finally on August 29, 1938, reported that the "World Silicosis Parley Opens in Geneva." I do not say that Union Carbide and Chemical managed directly to keep the story out of The Times, but no one can deny it was hushed up as long as possible.

It is also generally stated that department stores—the largest advertisers—no longer suppress news, and Frank Gannett quotes Harry Hansen, the untrammeled book-reviewer of The World-Telegram, to prove that his Chicago paper published a detailed investigation of low wages paid to workers in Marshall Field's and other department stores. Yet at that time, years ago, when a Chicago department-store man was shot by a lady of purchasable virtue, all Chicago papers reported it as an accidental shooting at home; a Philadelphia scion of another department store was involved in homosexual affairs which, though not mentioned in

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news of Commissioner Manley's warrant for the arrest of the heads of Gimbel Brothers department store. The Ledger failed to run a charge of violating the fire laws against Gimbel's, made by Bryn Mawr alumnae, but printed the store's denial of the unprinted story. The New York Herald Tribune suppressed a shoplifting arrest of socially prominent women at the James McCreery store and the Hearst American suppressed the name of the store; in Chicago the vice-president of a department store was indicted for bribing a city alderman who permitted him to bridge his two buildings, and the Chicago papers obligingly omitted the news.

Untrammeled book reviewers and Editor and Publisher may say that these examples, many of them fresher than Mr. Hansen's, are "old stuff." Well, here are some new ones: "A strike of clerks and warehousemen at the May-Stern Company . . . apparently is considered 'news not fit to print' by Cincinnati's three dailies, the Scripps-Howard Post, McLean's Enquirer and Taft's Times-Star," says a dispatch to The Guild Reporter, November 1,1937. In the La Follette reports on espionage and violence against labor, recently published, I find the testimony of Herbert Syme as follows: "The Wanamaker's [Philadelphia] situation is probably one of the most disgraceful situations in the city. These men, thugs, criminals, and so forth [hired as strikebreakers] hang around the street. . . ." John W. Edelman, research director, American Federation of Hosiery Workers, testified:

> May I offer to your attention, Mr. Chairman, a clipping from The Daily News of Philadelphia . . . in which they report that a group of employees of a private detective agency that had been hired to protect trucks of the John Wanamaker stores in Philadelphia were picked up, and four of them were found to have criminal records. . . . The Daily News carries no Wanamaker advertising, and I presume that is why it happened to get into this particular paper. It has been one of the most extraordinary scandals in the history of Philadelphia.

The scandal spread. A city official termed the salesmen's strike a "miniature revolution." Wanamaker settled, but the dispute went on to involve Gimbel's, Strawbridge and Clothier's, Lit's, N. Snellenberg's and Frank and Seder's. The girls' signs read: "We cannot live on $12 a week." But, as Time reported on November 30, 1936, the great Republican Philadelphia Inquirer, the great Bulletin whose publisher was president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association for 1938, and all the other Philadelphia papers except Stern's Record, suppressed news of this "miniature revolution," just as the majority had suppressed the Wanamaker strike.

In Pittsburgh a mass meeting to boycott Japanese goods was held in Carnegie Hall. Representative Coffee spoke. But no word in Mr. Roy Howard's free Press, no word in Mr. Block's free Post-Gazette, no word in Mr. Hearst's free Sun-Telegram. What keeps these papers alive? The advertising of Gimbel's, McCreery's, Kaufmann's and Rosenbaum's department stores. And was it merely a coincidence that these stores were found loaded with Japanese goods?

How many readers heard of the breach-of-promise suit for $2,000,000, Lillian Mendal v. Frederic Adam Gimbel, former treasurer of Saks-Fifth Avenue, son of the founder of the Gimbel stores in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Milwaukee? Well, it ran for a long time; Miss Mendal told a sensational story for six days, while most of the press of the United States ran a few lines on the $250,000 verdict, nothing else.

If a common mortal gets into trouble, that's news; if a society big-shot gets into trouble, that's big news; if a department-store man gets into trouble, that's frequently no news; but if a publisher gets into anything foul, short of first-degree murder, it is of no interest to anyone in the world.

Publishers are hardly human beings. They never get shot, they never shoot, they are never co-respondents, they are rarely divorced, they know nothing of the "love-nests" the press talks about; they never sue anyone, they are never sued. They dwell among untrodden ways, half-hidden from the eye, the most modest of violets by the mossy stones of publicity. But do they use labor spies or thugs? The La Follette Committee reports contain an interesting list of papers employing spies or secret agents: The Newark Ledger, The Philadelphia Bulletin, The Philadelphia Inquirer and The New York Herald Tribune.

When this news was released in Washington, The New York Sun suppressed the list; the Hearst Journal-American suppressed the list, and The New York Times gave the list as follows: The Newark Ledger, The Philadelphia Bulletin and The Philadelphia Inquirer. It suppressed the name of The Herald Tribune. On the other hand, it must be recorded that to the mortification of The Times, The Herald Tribune itself ran the complete list.

The Times gave only the smallest space to the story that it would be tried before the National Labor Relations Board charged with unfair labor practices against its employees; during three months, The Times as well as the rest of the New York papers suppressed news of this case.

Almost all of the papers omit any mention of libel suits not only against themselves, but against their colleagues—including their worst financial rivals and most deadly personal enemies. Here are the summaries of just a few:

> Libel suit against The World-Telegram for $500,000 (January, 1938).
>
> A $1,500,000 suit by H. M. Parker against The Chicago Tribune (February, 1937).
>
> The New York Daily Mirror won a $350,000 suit (October, 1937).

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Court refused to dismiss the $100,000 suit of James Mont against The New York Evening Journal (October, 1937).

Judge James J. McInerney sues The New York World-Telegram for $200,000 (January, 1938).

The Supreme Court of Alabama overruled demurrers in a $100,000 libel suit of Lytle White against The Birmingham Post (January, 1937).

Libel of $200,000 filed by Pearson and Allen against a Hearst news broadcaster.

Motion denied for a dismissal of Transradio's suit against the United Press (July, 1937).

Perhaps suits against newspapers are not news. But why then: "Max Eastman Sues. Names Daily Worker" (Times, May 11, 1938), and "Ship Line Sues Red Paper. Daily Worker Accused" (Times, January 22, 1939)? What is libel for the red robins ought to be libel for the blackbirds.

Then there is the general suppression of all commodity news favoring the consumer—the great American public whose servant the press proclaims itself to be. (If, of course, the papers published the truth about food, drugs, iceboxes, automobiles, cigarettes, etc., there would be no place for Consumers' Union, and that would be a pity. But there is no immediate fear that the press will reform itself.) The Federal Trade Commission, the pure-food-and-drug-law-enforcement bodies and the Department of Agriculture issue cease-and-desist orders against fraudulent advertisers, and they seize and analyze poisonous drugs and harmful food. But 99.44 percent of this news is never printed.

All the papers published the story of the Massengill elixir which used diethylene glycol for dissolving sulfanilamide. Scores of persons died from it, but will someone please send me the names of three newspapers which after printing the alarming story that diethylene was being used in other commodities, said the Philip Morris cigarette company had boasted in medical journals it had employed diethylene glycol as a hygroscopic agent? It wasn't news. Neither was the government order against Fleischmann's compressed yeast. This company is part of Standard Brands. It is known as a Morgan company. It has a prominent advertising agency. But all that interests me is that the Federal Trade Commission on July 28, 1938, after years during which this corporation had sold millions of dollars' worth of its product, claiming it would "cure or prevent constipation, bad breath, boils, acne, pimples or other manifestations of irregular digestion and that it will 'clear' skin irritants out of the blood" . . . ordered the company to stop all such advertising. It agreed to do so, and to cease representing the product in many other specified ways. The press of America took the advertising millions, but few papers mentioned the cease-and-desist order.

Nor the McKesson and Robbins orders. Time after time the government stopped this company from making false claims in the newspapers, but the press printed its advertising and kept quiet—until the great Coster-Musica scandal broke on their front pages.

Who published the order against the Bayer Aspirin Company? The Post in full, The Herald Tribune not at all, The World-Telegram in part, omitting some sensational charges about heart depression and harmful after-effects of all aspirin.

Here are some Illinois violators of the food-and-drugs act (companies cited by United States Department of Agriculture since January, 1937): Swift and Company, charged with short-weighting oleomargarine; Wilson and Company, ten tubs of butter alleged to be adulterated; Libby, McNeill and Libby charged with shortweighting.

Montgomery Ward was ordered to discontinue certain representations about its gas floor furnaces; Bristol-Myers to stop advertising that Ingram Milkweed Cream "removes or corrects skin blemishes"; Best Foods was charged with using illustrations showing Nucoa oleomargarine colored yellow in imitation of butter, and was told to stop advertising this product as "churned in fresh pasteurized milk." It now advertises Nucoa "churned in fresh pasteurized skim milk."

Some of Armour Creameries butter seized in Boston was found to consist "in whole or in part of a filthy, decomposed or putrid animal or vegetable substance"; Swift and Company is mentioned for two shipments of butter found "filthy and decomposed," and another contained "mold, hair, insects and other extraneous matter."

This list could be expanded into a volume. (It should be.) But the press does not publish this important and sensational news. The press runs a three-column photograph of a new shoe counter at Lord and Taylor's, which it passes off on New Yorkers as straight news, but it ignores the Federal Trade Commission's order to Lord and Taylor "to cease and desist from representing as silk any fabric not wholly comprised of silk." If there are three newspapers in the United States which do publish these items—every one designed to save readers money and sometimes health and life—I would like to have their names for some future honor roll. Actually, papers which are guilty of failure to print the FTC orders also refuse to run the advertisements for Consumers' Union, which republishes them as part of its service.

There is no room here to give the many hundreds of instances of suppressed news I have accumulated. It had been planned to run such a department in the late Ken magazine, but the advertisers had their way and none of my material was used, nor was such a department ever printed in that so-called "insider's world."

But the hundreds of instances of suppressed news are not one percent so important as the general mishandling of news for which the publishers are also

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Brothers scandals in history. I do care a superhoot for the fact that a food (or drug) backed by the great House of Morgan is misrepresented in the newspaper ads and that the newspapers suppress the United States government's own exposure of that product. All of us who are still hopeful of the survival of the democratic form of government must be more concerned over the perversion of headlines, the playing down of liberal and labor news and the distortion of facts which go on every day in matters of social, economic and political importance.

William Allen White seems to be the only honest newspaper publisher in America. He says newspaper publishing is a six-percent business. The press is free. But it is not fair. It cannot be fair to its readers so long as its owners can get their six percent only from the advertisers—and the social-economic system which advertising represents.

GEORGE SELDES

The Meaning of Semantics

THE DERISIVE editorial reference in a recent issue of Partisan Review to semantics ("the opium of Stuart Chase") gives almost hilarious, if not pathetic, proof of the very fact which semanticists have been trying so hard to convey—that is, that most people, even "intellectuals," still use language in the way that most savages do. "If only people could be got to call things by their right names," Partisan Review represents the semanticists as saying, "then all would be well"—and adds triumphantly, "as if the economic contradictions of capitalism would not remain no matter what they were called." No semanticist ever said that anything had a "right name"—and the fact that the writer for Partisan Review uses this notion uncritically is the first evidence he gives us of his kinship to the schoolboy who is reported to have said, "Pigs are called pigs because they are such dirty animals." Second, by intimating that semanticists believe they can save the world, the writer gives an almost inspired sample of the primitive two-valued orientation that semanticists are trying to fight: the reader is given the choice between two propositions: (1) semanticists are fools, and (2) semanticists can save the world. (Two more exclusive propositions are also implied: "All our troubles are economic," and "Economics have nothing to do with our troubles." The reader is given Hobson's choice.) In a world of people with strict two-valued orientations, every argument bogs down on the same dilemma: the Townsend plan (or Marxism, or Social Credit, or Eugenics, etc., etc.) is either (1) total idiocy, or (2) the Word of God.

Many people who read Stuart Chase's "The Tyranny of Words" have reacted no more intelligently to semantics than the editors of Partisan Review, whose views I have mentioned only because they are so typical of the misunderstandings which have arisen. The majority of my friends and acquaintances seem to believe that Mr. Chase was trying to persuade his readers to "define their terms." Clinging to their verbalistic habits, they read into his book an injunction to adhere to this ancient forensic dodge, and either decide that [illegible] to "define

jecting themselves to a "semantic discipline." Furthermore, many have jumped to the conclusion (but this, I am forced to admit, is the fault of Mr. Chase's own exposition) that all statements are either (1) meaningful ("operational"), or (2) meaningless ("blab") —again the two-valued orientation.

The "right-name" superstition, with which is bound up the "defining-your-terms" superstition, is fundamental, and has its roots in primitive word-magic and shamanism. The story of Rumpelstiltskin, who lost his power when his "right name" was pronounced, is baffling to a modern child, but clear to every savage. Thomas Mann describes this word-magic in "Joseph and His Brothers":

> If now he [the lion] had come, with long slinking tread, with his hateful nose, mewing and spitting, terror would not have robbed me of my senses, nor made me pale before his riddle. "Is *thy name* Blood-thirst?" I would have asked of him, making merry at his expense. "Or Springing Murder?" But then I would have sat upright and cried out: "Lion! Lo, Lion art thou, by nature and species, and thy riddle lieth bare before me, so that I speak it out and with a laugh it is plain." And he would have blinked before the name and gone meekly away before the word, powerless to answer me.

These (to us) obvious forms of word-magic have passed away, but the habit of thinking about "right names" is with us still. It occurs in the obscure sense that most of us have that all foreigners really ought to speak English (and use the right names for things) instead of our trying to learn their "gibberish." Even more fundamentally, it is revealed in the very structure of our language, in the simplest of statements: "*This* [pointing to Bossie] *is a cow.*" The *is* in this statement is false to facts. This is (called in logic the "*is* of identity") conveys no structural implications which might show the symbolic relationship that exists between Bossie and the word "cow." (Bossie, that is to say, is a neuro-physico-chemical eventfulness, never fully knowable; the creature we see at the sense level is an abstraction—our nervous systems abstract from the

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straction of a higher order, made up from the common "characteristics" of thousands of Bossies, Bessies, Rosies, etc.)

That's all very well, one might say, but where does all this get you? The answer is simple. These elementary epistemological considerations have an important practical bearing on the life of every human being. Most people have a number of basic "certainties": they know what "Jews," or "Stalinists," or "Trotskyites," or "bankers," or "workingmen," or "niggers," or "the masses," really "are." Armed with such "impersonal" and "objective" knowledge, they "know what the situation calls for." In nine cases out of ten their "knowledge" *may* be good enough for immediate purposes, so that the extent of error may be negligible. But in the tenth case the discrepancy between their "knowledge" and the event they are trying to appraise is so great that the action they resolve upon will be so inappropriate that it can only be regarded as *insane*. The reader can multiply examples at will, from the fully conditioned Pavlovian dog, that drips saliva at the ringing of a bell, *whether food is brought to it or not;* to the business man who curses Roosevelt *no matter what he does;* to the pre-Einstein physicist who cannot make head or tail out of Einstein *because he already "knows" what "time" and "space" really "are."* It is not the content of this kind of "knowledge" that is the principal difficulty; it is the fact that such "knowledge" is so *fixed* that it makes the acquisition of additional information impossible. As C. S. Peirce has said: "It is terrible to see how a single unclear idea, a single formula without meaning [or, I might add, of unexamined meaning], lurking in a young man's head, will sometimes act like an obstruction of inert matter in an artery, hindering the nutrition of the brain, and condemning its victim to pine away in the fullness of his intellectual vigor and in the midst of intellectual plenty." All of us have hundreds of such obstructions.

The notion of "defining terms" is such an obstruction. Semanticists, according to Partisan Review, "think our problems could be solved if we could agree on a definition of the term 'democracy.'" They have never, of course, said anything of the kind. Logicians and debaters have been "defining their terms" for centuries without getting anywhere. Since definition, as commonly understood, proceeds by leaving out characteristics, and since different people leave out different characteristics, there can be no agreement except on the verbal level. All terms derive their meanings, therefore, not from definition, but from usage in a context. The verbal context itself derives its meaning from a larger social context. *The "meaning" of a term is a statement of its relationship to its context, or possible contexts.*

"Of course, meaning is contextual," some may reply. "Anyone who [illegible]

knows that. What of it?" The reply is that the implications of this fact are more far-reaching than any but a few people, like Alfred Korzybski and Thurman Arnold have suspected. As soon as a thing is named, the entire contextual system in which the thing is conceived to belong, along with all the doctrinal notions and judgments that comprise that system, are invoked.

Policeman: You are a thief.
Prisoner: I am not!
Policeman: You took that money, didn't you?
Prisoner: Yes.
Policeman: Then you can't deny you are a thief.
Prisoner: I am not a thief!

Dilemmas such as this are common. The prisoner, under such circumstances, is thought to be a "moral coward," because he is "unable to face the facts." No stupider analysis is possible. The prisoner, in his own eyes as well as those of people not doctrinally befuddled, is "the man who took $12.43 from the till at Jones's meat-market." He rejects the term "thief" for the very good reason that it places him in a contextual system in which he does not yet see himself. If we compel him to accept the term by the grim logic of "You took the money; therefore you are a thief," we can make a thief of him. We can, on the other hand, change the term, for example to "maladjusted personality" or "sick person," and thereby change the doctrinal context invoked, so that society's treatment of him as well as his attitude toward society will turn out completely differently. If there is any doubt that contexts work in this way, consider the differences in social status and self-esteem that exist between two sets of public servants who perform similar menial tasks, "airline *hostesses*" and "Pullman *porters*." Better still, read Thurman Arnold's "Folklore of Capitalism" on the magnificent irresponsibility and freedom of criticism enjoyed by public enterprises undertaken by "private" corporations, as contrasted with the oppressive limitations and elaborate cautions which attend similar enterprises if undertaken by "government." No one has given a better account of the way in which the context in which any event is viewed shapes not only the public attitude toward the event, but the nature of the event itself.

Our knowledge of matters such as these has been unsystematic. Parts of this knowledge have been exploited with great effect by propagandists and advertising men. Poets and orators have always understood these matters intuitively. Students of language, with a few honorable exceptions, have been astoundingly indifferent to this whole problem of the relation between language and thought.

All people tend to think of things in terms of good and bad, black and white, hot and cold, God and Satan, rich and poor, etc., etc. This tendency is most sharply

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not forbidden by *tabu* is required by ritual necessity —there is very little in between. Since this two-valued orientation underlies most of our thinking except in technological matters, the outcome of almost all disagreements is that both sides are pushed to irreconcilable extremes. If you praise one thing about Germany, for example, to an "uncompromising anti-Fascist," you are pushed either to defending much more of Germany than you originally intended and running the risk of being thought a "Fascist," or else to backing down on your original statement—neither of which processes gets either of you anywhere. Illiterates and "uneducated" people are by no means alone in their two-valued orientation: controversialists in intelligent magazines and in learned journals are similarly conditioned. The reader will recall, for example, the situation in which André Gide found himself after the publication of his "Return from the USSR," in which he had recorded, with an artist's rigid self-honesty, his impressions of the Soviet Union. Thousands of anti-Communists clutched him to their bosoms as a brother, while thousands of his ideological allies gnashed their teeth at his "apostasy." For savages, for heresy-hunters like Mrs. Dilling, as well as for ideologically kosher intellectuals whether of the Left or the Right, there is no middle ground between black and white—it is all or none. This is what is meant, of course, by the "excluded middle" of Aristotelian logic. How far could modern engineering have got if we had thermometers which could give only two readings, "hot" and "cold"?

It has never been sufficiently emphasized that authoritarian regimes such as those of fascism hold their power and silence criticism by the strictest adherence to two-valued orientation: Aryanism *vs.* Non-Aryanism. Everything defined as "Aryan" is good, sacred, holy, desirable, etc., etc. Everything "Non-Aryan" is wicked, degenerate, cowardly, low, etc., etc. Every misfortune, every disaster, every crime is not only associated with, but *identified* with "Non-Aryan" elements in Germany, in exactly the same way in which sickness, famine or tribal defeat in primitive societies is identified with the violation of *tabu*. The suppression of the poetry of Heine and the music of Mendelssohn is essential to the maintenance of the two-valued orientation—a *tabu* can admit of no exceptions. The physics of Einstein, the implications of which smash forever the primitive logics of separable *either*s and *or*s, is suppressed for even weightier reasons. A current witticism about Germany says, "Everything that is not forbidden is compulsory." A two-valued orientation is a necessary condition to the congealing of minds and the enslavement of a people. "Demagogues" are those who, either through personal limitations or through conscious effort, attain power on an appeal to this primitive orientation that still resides, to greater or less degree, in all.

At recent meetings American scientists have passed stirring resolutions on the necessity of democracy to science, and of science to democracy. They were impelled by more than patriotism—in fact, patriotism had little to do with it. *Tabus*, such as obtain in totalitarian states, are crippling limitations to the scientist's field of inquiry, since they render most scientific conclusions, for *a-priori* reasons, inadmissible. In democracies, on the other hand, the majority of people, both educated and uneducated, tend to believe in "open-mindedness," and feel that even "crack-pot theories" ought to be given a "fair hearing." In our judiciary and legislative systems, we dramatize the notion (however clumsily) that somewhere *between* the two (or more) stated extremes lies the truth. (In the Nazi trial court, there is prosecution, but no defense worthy of the name—only one testing agency is necessary since only two values are being sought, as with litmus paper in testing for acids and bases.) We have, too, in democracies, a traditional distrust of the centralization of power. In other words, most people in democracies have, with regard to some matters at least, not a two-valued, but a *multi-valued orientation.*

Meanwhile mathematicians, running ahead of the rest of us at their usual rate, have made explicit in the "logic of probability" of Lukasiewicz and Tarski the possibility of what Korzybski calls an *infinite-valued orientation.* (This is, of course, a limit toward which we can only strive.) For all their limitations, which are due as much to professional indifference and lack of vision as to the interference of society, scientists have nevertheless the nearest approach that has yet been made to infinite-valued orientation. At least, no territories of human experience, no possible scientific conclusions, are, for *a-priori* reasons, *verboten.* And it is because they live in societies that have multi-valued orientation that scientists have been as free, and therefore as productive, as they have been and still are in non-totalitarian nations. The sciences, especially the now maturing social and human sciences, can arrive at fruition only if we can, by adherence to the ideals of free speech and representative government, and by whatever other more efficient means we can find, inculcate multi-valued orientation in greater numbers of the people more rapidly and more thoroughly. What we mean when we say that our "spiritual progress" has not kept up with our technological progress is that our two-valued orientation is not an adequate instrument for evaluating an increasingly complex world.

Can we speed up the abolition of two-valued orientation, not only among the "educated" classes, but also among the masses of the people? It is the conviction of Korzybski, who is above all else an educator, that we can. In his system of General Semantics, presented in his "Science and Sanity," he offers systematic techniques for investigating and analyzing, and consequently im-

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chinery by which we know what we know. He is attempting to evolve educational methods by which the mental hobgoblins created by our primitivistic handling of language can be permanently laid to rest, and the unconditional polarizations of thought, brought about by our savage logics, can be neutralized. Thurman Arnold, on the other hand, interested in more immediate results, describes this two-valued orientation (these, of course, are not his terms, and this is by no means all he does) as it operates in lawyers, intellectuals and the people, in order that we may understand the psycho-dynamics of social change, and, if we wish, put that knowledge to work. Moreover, the studies of I. A. Richards in literary criticism, of Bridgman, Bentley, Carnap and many others in science and mathematics, of Bloomfield in linguistics, of Felix S. Cohen in law, of Malinowski in anthropology, and of many others in widely separated fields, reveal a like determination to increase the efficiency of thought through an improved understanding of how language works. The progress of these studies and the dissemination and application of their results are steps towards general sanity—slow steps, perhaps, but sure ones.

S. I. HAYAKAWA

Not in the Cables

1. The Peace Front Negotiations

AFTER DRAGGING for three months, the Anglo-French-Soviet Peace Front negotiations appear to have reached a stalemate. Each side blames the other for the failure to find a common formula. But the incredible number of hitches and snags which have developed during the talk seems to indicate that for different reasons neither side is eager for agreement.

It is a curious commentary on the tortuous course of the present negotiations that two of the parties, France and the Soviet Union, have long been linked by a defensive alliance, the Franco-Soviet Mutual Aid Pact, signed by Laval and Litvinov in 1934. This pact, which received a severe setback at the time of the Munich betrayal, when France violated her similar obligations to Czecho-Slovakia, is seldom mentioned now. But it is technically still in force, never having been denounced, and if reinvigorated would furnish an excellent basis for a Peace Front against aggression. The terms of the pact specifically provide that other countries which so desire are free to join. It would therefore be an easy matter for Great Britain merely to accept this existing pact and share the obligations to which France already subscribes. The question of the form and extent of the guarantees to small nations could then be considered under separate heading without delaying or jeopardizing the main agreement. This alternative has never been suggested in the present connection, although the possibility of Britain joining the Franco-Soviet pact had often cropped up in previous years.

The Russians accuse the British of lack of sincerity. Soviet opinion points out that the prolonged negotiations, while they have not contributed to international security, have helped to give Chamberlain a good build-up at home. If and when the negotiations finally break down, the British public can be made to believe that it is through no fault of Chamberlain, but the result of alleged Russian obstinacy. This would help to silence Opposition criticism and thus pave the way for a revival of "appeasement."

Stalin's dictum, delivered last March, that British policy seeks to involve Russia and Germany in a mutually ruinous war, provides a clue to the Soviet Union's extreme caution in the present talks. Since Munich, Russia has lost her belief in the value of signed treaties and no amount of suasion by William Strang, London's high-powered negotiator now in Moscow, has convinced the hard-headed Kremlin of Chamberlain's good faith.

Having weighed all these factors, the Russians are in no hurry to commit themselves. Recent events have given the Soviet Union the balance of power in Eastern Europe, which implies an important diplomatic advantage. This strategic position continues only as long as the Soviet Union is theoretically free to bargain with all powers, but ceases the moment it assumes any definite obligations toward any given set of powers. It is therefore obvious why the Soviet Union is reluctant to sign any agreement with England and France that does not meet all its demands, including minor ones.

The democracies and their allies, if they intend to resist Hitler, must have Soviet support. Geographically, Russia alone can supply the munitions and men to enforce the guarantees of Poland and Rumania. The Russians are aware of this and intend to drive a hard bargain with the Western powers. They will probably continue to "sit on the fence" until the fighting has actually started and France and England are already in it. They will then be able to name and obtain their own price. This is the Soviet Union's way of ensuring that it will not be left holding the bag, or jockeyed into fighting Germany single-handed. It also, incidentally, accounts for the way the Russians were ignored last September and their offer of help allowed to go begging.

None of this brightens the prospects for the early

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hood that Russia will continue to "sit on the fence" does not mean that she is going to fall into the lap of Germany. Fundamental differences of aims and interests between the Soviet and Nazi systems render this highly improbable. When Western observers, accustomed to the empiricism of democratic politics and impressed by superficial resemblances, predict a Russo-German rapprochement, they overlook the deep-rooted social antagonism and the important role of doctrinaire ideology in shaping and controlling the mass mind in Eastern Europe. Hitler could no more make friends with Soviet Russia than he could with the Jews.

In the Soviet Union, where fascism is regarded as the negation of all human and cultural values, such an alliance (assuming the Bolshevik leaders should be shortsighted enough to contemplate it) could never be made palatable, even by the best of coördinated presses. South Russia has not forgotten the German occupation, and the "Mein Kampf" effusions about the Ukraine have been taken due note of.

The worst that might happen in Eastern Europe would be for Russia to be forced into a position of isolated neutrality by the stupidity, treachery or cowardice of Western statesmen. But if the democracies intend to resist, they can count on Russian backing. The near future will decide.

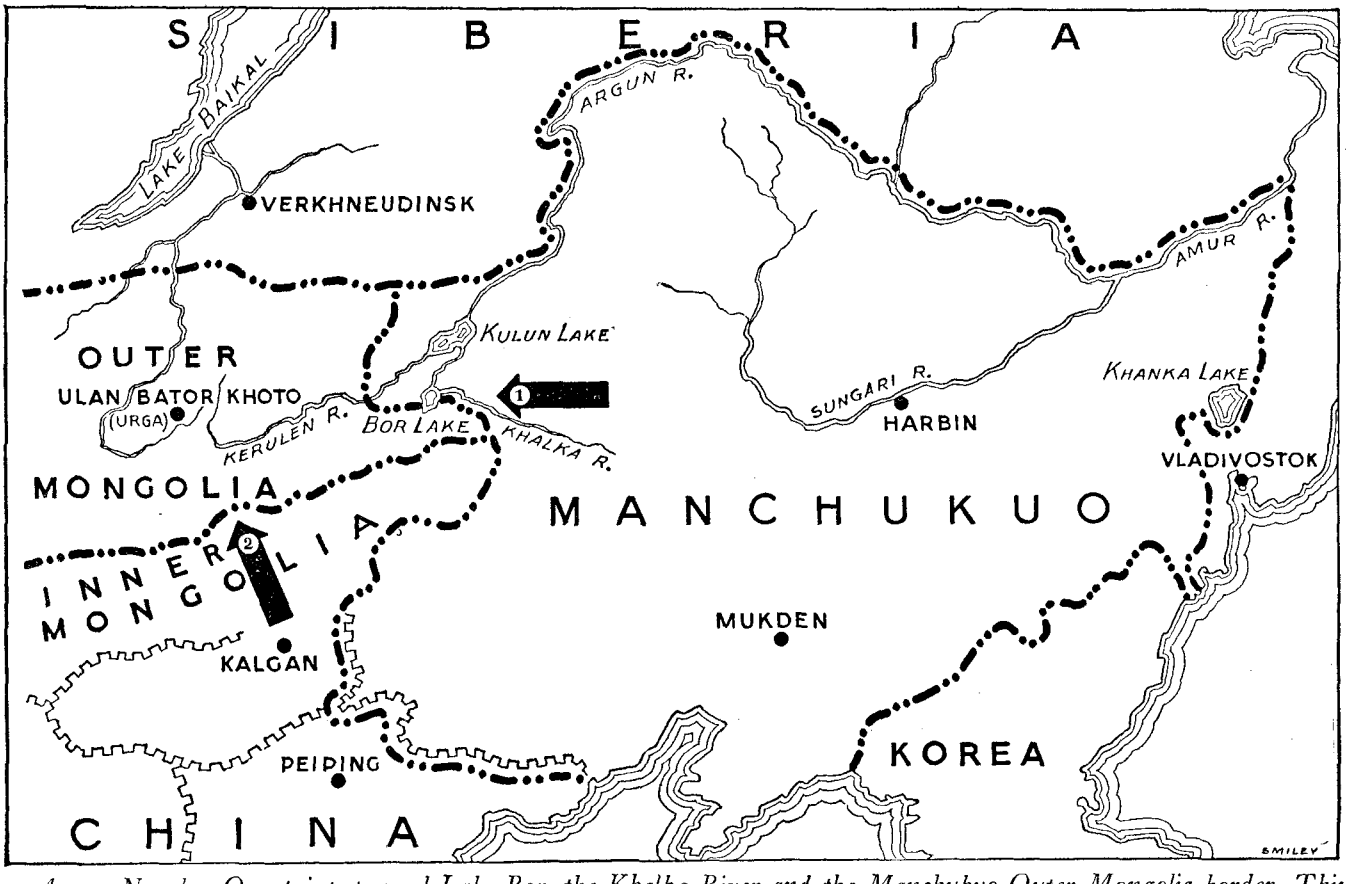
EDMUND STEVENS

2. Fighting in Outer Mongolia

TOKYO DISPATCHES say that flagrant boundary violations of Manchukuo and invasion of the Japanese protectorate by Mongol detachments are the causes for the sudden outbreak of military raids on the Manchukuo-Mongol border. Moscow, at the same time, accuses the Japanese of raids on Outer Mongolian soil.

The independent Kwantung army in Manchukuo, in releases to the foreign press, boasts of its major operations on the Mongol border, involving divisions of infantry, cavalry, tanks and hundreds of airplanes. It says it has destroyed or captured more than 300 tanks and shot down 529 Mongol-Soviet planes in less than twenty days of fighting. The Kwantung army also reports retaliatory air raids on the important Japanese aviation base at Halun Arshan, 125 miles behind the border in Manchukuo. On the face of it, one might take this as evidence that at last the Russo-Japanese war, which was intensified after Japan joined the "Anti-Communist International" with Germany and Italy, is about to break into the open.

From my point of view, there is nothing alarming in this flare-up. Armed forces from both sides have invaded each other's territories. Frequent meetings of opposing border patrols have, since the occupation of Manchukuo by the Japanese in 1931, led to minor but



Arrow Number One points toward Lake Bor, the Khalka River and the Manchukuo-Outer Mongolia border. This is the barren area in which military operations between the Mongol and Japanese forces have recently been reported. Were Japan actually ready and willing to start the war against the USSR, Mr. Ludwin explains in his article, the attack would have begun at Kalgan, driving north (Arrow Number Two) toward Ulan Bator Khoto and Verkhneudinsk.

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bloody encounters. The Mongols have doubtless harassed Japanese movements on the border, but these skirmishes have never had more than a purely local character. This is primarily because the Mongol cub, tied to the bandwagon of Soviet Far Eastern policy, is pursuing the same "defensive" attitude against Japanese-provoked "incidents" as is the Muscovite bear on the Siberian frontier.

The territory in itself is an invitation to dispute. Except for an occasional river bed, there is nothing to mark the boundary through an undulating, grassy plain which extends for hundreds of miles from east to west. Uncultivated, uninhabited save for a few nomads, this region is really a no-man's land. The physical possession of a few miles of land on either side of the border is of no strategic value to anybody.

But this is the practical question: is Japan ready to begin the war (which must eventually come) to decide who shall rule in Asia? My own observations lead me to believe that from a military point of view, Japan is ready, but not willing—at least not today, not this week or month. When Japan is ready she will unquestionably attack the Soviet railway near Lake Baikal in a swift, outflanking drive through Outer Mongolia. But such an attack will start from a point far south of Lake Bor. Beginning at Kalgan, utilizing the existing caravan route for their army supplies, the Japanese armies will attempt to drive toward Ulan Bator Khoto (Urga) and Verkhneudinsk. It is safe to assume that no major drive directed against the Soviet Union will begin at the present scene of action, which is comparatively close to one of the most heavily fortified sectors of Soviet Siberian defense.

Action against Outer Mongolia, by itself, is out of the question. Any serious attempt to invade this buffer state would bring Moscow into an immediate war. Moreover, war against Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union will begin during September or October, no matter of which year. Only a sudden Armageddon in Europe involving Japan, or some act on the part of Soviet Russia causing Nippon to lose face, could start war at any other time. Meanwhile, the extent and the frequency of so-called "incidents" will be determined by the approach of the zero hour, which doubtless has already been set by the Japanese high command.

Why, then, this grand-scale fireworks at this time in a comparatively unimportant sector of the Mongol border? The reasons, I believe, are several.

Outer Mongolia, hermetically sealed on all except the Soviet border, has afforded no opportunity to the Japanese military to estimate its fighting strength. Sudden, deep, penetrating raids over a wide area are the only means to gather information about the type and quality of war materials, efficiency and tactics of the Mongols. Since the Japanese army must carry the war into a desert country where fighting methods differ greatly from their own, such information is vital.

The unusual publicity given "Japanese victories" on a remote front where confirmation is impossible suggests that "victories" are badly needed. They may be intended to bolster public opinion at home and to compensate for the slow progress of the Japanese army in China. Certainly they have shifted attention to a new scene of action and helped the army "save face."

But the real object of the present hostilities is to warn Moscow to use discretion in its negotiations with Britain and France. Japan is a member in good standing of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. LEONARD LUDWIN

The Dear, Dear Brokers

BROADWAY THIS SUMMER has been suffering from shock, compound fracture, multiple contusions, prolonged submersion and strangulation. Business has been so bad that the actors in several of the less popular shows have come out in the lobby to give the performance where the box-office treasurers could watch them, on the ground that they were afraid to be left all alone in that big dark auditorium. I disbelieve, however, the story that when a cash customer stepped up and said "I want two on the aisle in the fourth row," the box-office cashier through long disuse had lost the power of speech and had to make signs for the standard reply: "The best I can do is two on the side in the nineteenth."

I have read the reports of hard times along the Street of Dreams, as the song writers call it, shifting to the key of F, with mixed emotions—so mixed in fact that they are practically a tossed salad. I am sorry for the actors, playwrights and stagehands; but I can't help a little inexcusable and diabolical glee because the bad season is hurting the ticket brokers. Anything that hurts a ticket broker is as welcome to me as a limeade frappé with raspberry ice to a man dying of thirst at a graduation exercise.

I have been buying theatre tickets during a long lifetime, and patronizing ticket brokers every time I could manage to shingle another mortgage on the family home. The process has ruined me financially, but it has done my health a world of good. Every time I buy a ticket from an agency, I get so angry that my glands go in for that nourishing secretion of adrenalin on a huge scale. I am usually so upset that I am unable afterward to keep my mind on the performance, but students of the theatre tell me there hasn't been much to miss, this last quarter of a century.

If this were a common-sense world (save your stamps, I know it is not) theatres, scattered all over town, would of course have several consolidated ticket offices where you could go and buy tickets for whatever show you liked at box-office prices. Over and over again, such a setup has been projected and the idea has always died aborning for just one reason. The theat-

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rical managers, who combine the attributes of a wolf, Leonardo da Vinci, Donald Duck and a satyr, have never dared trust each other. Each was afraid that one of his beloved brothers would bribe the salesmen in the consolidated office to boost said brother's shows and use the stiletto on those of everybody else. The result is the ticket broker. He prevents you from wandering around in the rain from one theatre to another at 8:44 P.M.; but this purely chiropractic service is the only one he performs. In exchange, he takes a fearful toll on your pocketbook or on the theatre's revenue, whichever way you care to look at it.

In the old days, the azure blue of heaven was the limit, on prices. During the "era of wonderful nonsense" the agencies would ask and get $10, $12 or $15 for each ticket to a popular show, although the printed price was hardly ever more than $5.50 and usually less. If government taxes were in style, the agent coyly wrote his price in those terms, making his $10 ticket $11, the $15 one $16.50 and so on. This made the whole thing seem more real somehow to the out-of-town buyer from Keokuk, Iowa, whose ticket was bought for him by Snappy Models, Inc., the wholesale dress house at Seventh Avenue and Thirty-ninth Street, whose proprietor wrote the price of said ticket into the dresses bought by said buyer. Nowadays, they tell me, the agencies are strictly limited to a mark-up of 75 cents. I also heard the most delicious story the other day about where babies come from—right out of cabbages.

Perhaps the worst harm the ticket brokers do is to buy a block of seats at every performance for a specified number of weeks in advance. These buys (far less common today than formerly) are based upon the brokers' visiting the show at a dress rehearsal if it opens cold, or in Atlantic City or New Haven if it warms up out of town. The result is that they have practically the power of life and death over many a promising play. The next result is that authors begin writing, and managers begin producing, for the ticket brokers. Did you ever see a broker? If you have, you can imagine what the theatre would be like if their dictatorship became complete. (In recent years they have been supplanted to a large extent by the movie moguls, and believe it or not, that is an improvement.)

The brokers of course have a formula with which they defend themselves. I am groaning already at the letters The New Republic will get, upholding their business against my animadversions, if they can spell it. They will say people insist on going to the theatre at the last moment, demand only tickets for hits, that the agencies perform a stabilizing service, and so on. Don't you believe it. Or believe it only a quarter's worth, as follows:

There exists in New York a bright little magazine called Cue, which tells its readers what public entertainment is available in the current week. Some months ago, Cue decided to help its subscribers go to the theatre by buying tickets for them. On a few hours' notice, any registered subscriber can get seats for any show delivered C.O.D. to his home or office at box-office prices *plus 25 cents on each ticket*. Note that Cue delivers the tickets to you, which the brokers do for only a limited number of special customers. And note further that the mark-up is only one-third of what the brokers are supposed to charge today and a smaller part of what they used to get. Cue is a commercial enterprise, not engaged in any philanthropy. True, it is not making money on its ticket service just now, but this is because the volume is still comparatively small. A few hundred more per week, and it would show a handsome profit.

Among those who were quick to see this point were, apparently, the agencies themselves. Cue was doing them little or no harm; their great customers are transients who live in hotels while Cue's service is open only to people getting the magazine by mail on a yearly basis. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that the brokers, or some of them, have ganged up on Cue to put its ticket service in the ash-can. The brokers are tenants of the big hotels, to whom they pay fat rental fees. The big hotels advertise in Cue, which they have found a profitable medium. When said hotels suddenly begin to take Cue off their newsstands and to cancel their advertising contracts with the magazine for no reason, it is not hard to smell a rat.

My own grievance against the agencies, however, is much simpler and more personal. I object to their manners. In all my years of buying theatre tickets, I can remember very few times when I have been treated with ordinary common courtesy. I can recall few employees of the agencies who could be described as gentlemen in even a liberal interpretation of the word. I have regularly been lied to, bullied and treated as an unwelcome intruder. There may be exceptions, but I have never met them. So business is bad, is it? Dear, dear, dear!

CHOLERICUS

Before Anesthesia

Oh, what a morning, my mysterious flesh,
When you and I together drift on lakes
Of sleep unearthly, and these very white
White masked creatures, gentle for our sakes,
Lay us to slumber in such perfect light.
Be rapt, you flesh, for this most hour of hours,
When down! the knife shall down and you not shrink,
When every agony cry to the brain
But that deep blissful cell refuse to think.
While you, my flesh, serene at the abyss
Bask here, and shall rise up with all your breath,
And brightened body grown half mystical
From this the strangest, oh most strange of all
Life's victories over her late lord death.

HILDEGARDE FLANNER

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Washington Notes

Politics at the Water's Edge

THE HIDDEN INCREDIBLE FACTS about the fight over the State Department-Bloom neutrality bill are at last leaking out. The opposition, the so-called isolationist bloc, was intellectually dominated by Mr. Borah, who was himself enthralled by pearly memories of his great debate on the Versailles Treaty with Mr. Wilson in 1919. During the last two months, Mr. Borah, with elephantine guile, has been trying to lure Mr. Roosevelt into a similar public talking match on neutrality. This is altogether ludicrous, since all along Mr. Roosevelt has been chafing with eagerness to board his special train and make speeches from Washington to the Pacific Coast. Nevertheless, it is reported that Mr. Borah believes he played a huge trick on Mr. Roosevelt, that he dug a pit and pushed the President into it. When, a few nights back, the Democratic and Republican Senate leaders met solemnly at the White House to decide the Bloom bill's ultimate fate and Mr. Roosevelt angrily threatened to take his case to the voters, Mr. Borah's gaunt frame is supposed to have swelled with wicked triumph. But he seems to have miscalculated, for now it is improbable that August will see a nationwide stumping tour, with Mr. Roosevelt and New Deal Senators followed by Mr. Borah and his colleagues.

What would this much desired debate have been on? The Bloom bill, which the President favored in its original form, would have lifted the arms embargo entirely. Supposedly Mr. Roosevelt's first defeat came when the House voted the Vorys amendment to the Bloom bill, by which the existing embargo on arms and ammunition was retained, but inferentially lifted on "implements of war." It now transpires that a number of experts, in and out of the administration, begged Mr. Roosevelt to accept the amended bill with thanks. They insisted that, in case of war, England and France would be able to buy here virtually everything they would need. In debate in the House, it was specifically stated that, under the amendment, the embargo would not apply to airplanes and airplane parts—which were what, originally, the administration was chiefly anxious to exempt. True enough, it would have prohibited the sale of rifles, machine guns and artillery, but the United States is not equipped to manufacture even our own army's needs. What else would the amendment have forbidden? Artillery shells, perhaps? But experts say that England and France would not want loaded shells; they would ask for shell casings, which are merely a special kind of steel forging, and not covered by the amendment.

To the pleas of military experts were added those of friendly lawyers. The State Department and customs service would have had the duty of interpreting the Vorys amendment. Suppose an infuriated isolationist had wished to compel a State Department or customs official to stop the shipment of shell casings, what legal means could he have used? He could not have obtained a court injunction, since he could not have shown he had been injured. He would have been as helpless as the protestants [illegible]

dollar-devaluation law. The administration would have been able to interpret the embargo law about as it pleased. Slyly, lawyers pointed out that in its refusal to apply the existing act to the Sino-Japanese conflict, the administration is already skilled in convenient interpretation. As a coldly practical matter, Mr. Roosevelt might have embraced the Bloom bill with its Vorys amendment as a victory for his personal foreign policy, and have given Mr. Hitler and Mr. Mussolini an acutely unpleasant shock.

The management of the Bloom bill in the Senate was bumble-fingered beyond belief. The vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by which consideration of the bill was postponed until next January, was 12 to 11. If a vote had been taken on the bill itself, it now appears that it might have been approved by 16 to 7. There is no reason under high Heaven why the Bloom bill should not have been approved by the Foreign Relations Committee, nor why, as you read this, the administration forces should not be beating down the last remnants of the over-touted isolationist filibuster on the Senate floor.

What seems to have happened was that the nimble-witted Mr. Bennett Clark was stirred to furious action by Mr. Borah's apparent pledge to vote for the Bloom bill. That same night he interviewed Messrs. Gillette and George, assured them he did not wish them to vote against their convictions, but—well, postponement would commit them to nothing. Whether he also saw Mr. Borah is unconfirmed, but seemingly that aged gentleman had a renewed burst of confidence in his ability to lure Mr. Roosevelt himself into public debate should the Bloom bill be smothered. The next morning, before the committee members were squarely in their seats, Mr. Clark offered his postponement motion. Mr. Pittman, the chairman and administration strategist, was caught flatfooted. In less than fifteen minutes, Mr. Clark's motion had carried and the committee stood adjourned. The isolationists' victory over Mr. Roosevelt was less a victory than first-degree burglary. Presumably it is this that explains Mr. Roosevelt's bottomless wrath.

In a real sense, the passing of the resolution fathered by Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia for a special investigation of the NLRB is a tribute to the zeal with which the CIO unions have guarded the Board during the present session. Repeatedly pressure has been put on the House Labor Committee to approve hostile amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. CIO men have stoutly supported it in its refusal to permit the act to be changed. The Smith resolution represents an informal deal. Under it, the House reactionaries agreed to abandon their effort to amend the labor-relations law now in return for an assurance that they would have the special investigating committee, authorized in Mr. Smith's resolution. It is more a face-saving device for the reactionaries than a threat to the labor act's integrity.

As explained previously in these Notes, big-business representatives have had an opportunity to say their say against the NLRB before the labor committee of the Senate, and have made a sorry showing under the whiplike cross-examination of Senators Ellender, La Follette and Thomas of Utah. It is unlikely that Mr. Smith's committee—now

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earth witnesses of any standing that have not already appeared before the regular Senate and House Committees, and whose testimony has not already been largely answered. A more serious anti-labor move in the House, the amendments to the wages-and-hours law proposed by Representative Barden, has apparently been defeated by the energetic action of Mr. Roosevelt himself.

Washington T. R. B.

Because Heywood Broun is in San Francisco at the American Newspaper Guild convention, his column is omitted this week. — THE EDITORS

Other People's Money

The Railroad Reorganization Racket

CONGRESS has been considering a bill—the Wheeler-Truman bill—to set up in Washington a central court to handle railroad reorganizations.

Surely no one will be surprised to be told that what might be called the railroad-reorganization bar rose as a man to protest against this un-American attempt to further centralize power in the wicked government at Washington. The patriots who are thus shocked are chiefly members of those huge law firms which roost in Wall Street and thrive upon the red blood and the bacilli in the bodies of railroad corporations, who get rich nursing them from health into illness and richer still nursing them from illness to health.

The argument of centralization against the bill, coming from Wall Street lawyers, has in it an element of the comic—since there is perhaps nothing in this world more completely centralized than the reorganization racket in Wall Street. The lawyers want jurisdiction over railroad reorganizations left with the local courts—the local federal judges who have no staffs, no time, no special capacities, no facilities for coping with the immense problems involved in corporation reorganization along with all their other work. Here is a judge in Chicago—Judge Wilkerson—handling the reorganization of three railroads, two of them among the biggest in the country—the St. Paul and the Rock Island, with 11,000 and 8,000 miles of road respectively. Here is another in Minneapolis, Judge Norbye, handling three others, and both these courts have besides innumerable other receiverships and a daily grind of litigation which alone is enough to swamp them.

Is it not ridiculous to talk about leaving railroad reorganization to "local" courts? Railroads which traverse a dozen or a score of states have no right to be called local merely because they are incorporated or have a central office in some one spot.

Moreover, the bar which pretty nearly monopolizes railroad reorganizations is found in Wall Street and in Chicago—chiefly the former. And the bankers who grab these reorganizations are also found chiefly in Wall Street.

Here is the Western Pacific Railroad, which is located far from New York. But the lawyers representing the various interests are the inevitable Davies, Auerbach, Cornwall, Milbank, Tweed and Hope and other New York law firms and Washington firms representing central organizations there.

In the case of the Chicago Great Western Company it is New York firms like Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner and Reed, and Chicago firms like Winston, Strawn and Shaw. One may go through the lists of reorganizations and there they are—a small group of New York and Chicago lawyers representing New York banks, bankers and committees.

If, of course, they can keep this business of reorganization spread around the country in the hands of unstaffed courts and judges untrained for this sort of thing, the bondholders, the stockbrokers, the creditors and other interests which are affected by these reorganizations will be that much further removed from the scene of battle and that much more at the mercy of those who make a business of reorganizations.

Something must be done to demobilize the reorganization squads which have written their records in dark letters upon most of the great railroads of the country. A railroad goes into receivership or bankruptcy. Immediately committees are formed to represent the various conflicting interests. The bondholders and preferred stockholders and common stockholders and creditors must all share in the assets of the road. Their shares are based upon conflicting interests. And everyone, including the lawyers, recognizes that these interests are conflicting. Then there are the bankers and managers who are intent upon holding tight control of the road when the whole job is done. Immediately counsel representing all these conflicting interests represented by committees appears, and if you are naïve you might suppose that all of the interests are being fairly represented. But what actually happens in so many cases?

Fortunately the Wheeler committee turned up a most interesting piece of evidence. When the Seaboard road was being prepared for reorganization proceedings, one of these New York lawyers sent a memorandum to the banking firm of Dillon, Read and Company pointing out that "a list of names should be prepared for the following committees"—then follow the names of all the various security groups. Then he adds: "As the interests of the various classes of securities *are conflicting,* I feel certain that a single reorganization committee would be thoroughly inadvisable. The Plan will be much easier to defend from attack if each security is represented by an *independent committee* with *independent counsel.*" (Italics mine.) Then the lawyer proposes that "The chairman of each committee, having been agreed upon, the chairman should be seen and the personnel and counsel of the several committees determined."

What a pretty little scenario this! The bankers and the bankers' lawyers picking out the chairman and personnel of all the "hostile" committees and then, as the suave lawyer suggests, Dillon, Read and Company and Ladenburg, Thalman and Company should be "invited" to "coöperate" with the board and committees to form a plan.

The Wheeler committee also dug up another letter from the chairman of the board of the road to the bankers reporting on his progress in cooking up all these committees for all these "hostile" interests.

This is a juicy business. It is worth all the trouble. A couple of banking firms and New York law firms split up

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1928 and now that same road is back in the hands of the courts and the banker-lawyer reorganizers again.

Naturally these gentlemen are profoundly disturbed for the fate of our nation, the permanence of our liberties, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence if anything should be done in Washington to shake them out of this friendly tree.

JOHN T. FLYNN

Speaking of Jazz: I

THE MUSIC OF JAZZ, being a new and native art, has been slow in building any body of decent criticism. It has been a national institution for twenty years and goes back much farther than that; but it has been either misunderstood, or understood and not talked about. Although the best critics, and least obnoxious, are still the musicians themselves, the growing recent public interest has turned a lot of writing heads that way, articles are being written, three books[1] have appeared already this year, with more to come; and pretty soon we will have a jazz library and all hell to pay. As in any trade there has been a constant substratum of shop-talk magazines, of course—Tempo, Down Beat, Metronome, etc.—which musicians follow closely to see how much lineage they got and whether Kelsey Moon and his Twelve Stars laid an egg at the Palomar. The level of criticism in these places is somewhere below the exact spot on the notorious well digger: it is either thinly disguised advertising copy or it is personalities in a perfect bearpit.

Intellectuals have been writing about jazz in foreign languages, though, including the English; two books have been compiled that do nothing but list American jazz-band recordings and personnels (one in England, one in France); and three or four years ago Hugues Panassié's "Le Jazz Hot" was translated and put on the market here (Witmark, $5). The book was the work of a man fanatically devoted to his subject, and represented the first exhaustive venture into the field of real jazz, as opposed to what Olin Downes said to himself when Edwin Franko Goldman played "Yes, We Have No Bananas" in Central Park with seventy-eight pieces and a steam whistle off one of the United Fruit boats. It was also somewhat exhausting, because of its mixture of disorganization, rapture and inevitable remoteness from the tradition and the general work of the case in point (this last resulted in some rather odd lunges when Panassié came over here recently as the Great Critique and original dippermouse, because of such things as a developing tolerance of Paul Whiteman that almost got him bounced out of his original Hot Clubs of France, back home. He had his subject down, but it is pretty clear he never could get a hold on it. His book is still available and a standard source of extremely valuable misinformation.

Then there was Louis Armstrong, who had become so world famous as to be known even to the reading public: some publisher had a book ghosted for him which turned out to be a nice easy book, talking as naturally as Louis himself about early life in New Orleans and on the river, and covering up the actual work of his job and career like a maiden aunt in a stiff breeze. And now following in that line is the book "written" by Benny Goodman.

Of the three latest to approach the subject, Irving Kolodin has the best critical equipment for it. He writes easily, he has a conscientious ear, he has the background and he likes music. But as in the case of so many others, jazz as an art form came as a pleasant but fairly recent surprise to him—whereas complete authority in any such folk art of course demands the bred-in-the-bone understanding which neither takes it too solemnly nor falls for frivolity and fad. And he was faced from the start with the myopic publisher's requirement that the book be ghosted and good too. His and Goodman's "The Kingdom of Swing" is simply the story of Benny Goodman, the little knee-pants kid from the Chicago ghetto, who started out with a clarinet as long as he was and a mixture of business sense and absolute magic, and hasn't stopped yet. It is a more thorough biography of a jazz musician than has been written. And Kolodin managed to "interpolate" two chapters on the background and philosophy of jazz in this country: succinct, appreciative, large enough in perspective to give any reader some idea of the music itself and its relation to everything else.

The worst difficulty in making this book was not digging out the material (on which Kolodin is straight as a string—and if you don't marvel at it go ask Benny to talk once). The main stumbling block in making a full character out of it was in the "I"-story part of the business. Writing as "I, Benny Himself," you can't describe the Goodman musicianship without boasting, show the long odds in the long struggle without whining, give the general outlook without offending half the population of Lindy's restaurant, or explain the real drive behind this success without getting a look from the Old Man that would freeze your blood and the presses too. It of course makes the book a lot simpler, and it also keeps it down to what it is: a narrative of names, places, events, much better done than the type in general and the best one about a musician, but still hardly a good book.

But the proudest feather in the cap of this upstart and orphan art is a book by an actual professor, to whose attention its existence had been brought. Winthrop Sargeant's "Jazz: Hot and Hybrid" is the first satisfactory monograph on this form of music as distinct from other music. You should be told if you couldn't guess it that Mr. Sargeant is a sort of teetotaler chemist for a liquor concern—he sure is hell on analysis and charts of specific gravity, but as to what the stuff tastes like and will do to you, that rests with some other department, please. No rapture here. Cold facts. Not speaking the language himself, he got a jazz critic to give him a list of thirty or so records—a list neither balanced nor inclusive and on some levels monotonous. Upon this evidence, the literature of the subject and a lot of old songsheets he spent enough scientific energy to light the island of Manhattan. When he had it completely figured out, he wrote it down. And the surprising thing is that though he writes in a flat, unsubtle and confusing style—about music, of all barely expressible things—it makes a thorough analysis of jazz as an idiom, and isolates the essentials for further and fuller study.

Mr. Sargeant relates jazz as we understand the term (dance bands and all that) to a sort of national idiom of speech and music, and to the universal field of [illegible]

[1] Goodman, Kolodin: "Kingdom of Swing"; Stackpole, $2. Sargeant: "Jazz: Hot and Hybrid"; Arrow Editions, $2. Hobson:

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clumsy lurches of previous highbrow dabblers who have assumed jazz to be in a single rhythm, confused counterpoint with cacophony, missed the subtleties of tempo, color, improvization altogether, and Lord knows what not. His definitions are sound and helpful, and he has made a synthesis of the elements common to jazz and nothing else, that will be standard for a long time—principally in his chapters of polyrhythm and scalar structure. But if he likes jazz at all, it is in a queer-bug-on-a-pin way of liking which leaves his book quite vulnerable, and relegates it to the rather dusty shelf of exercises in the philosophy of music, as such. This I will have to leave for discussion next time, when I will have space to report on Wilder Hobson's book —the best so far. OTIS FERGUSON

The Bandwagon

Japanese air attacks on Foochow and surrounding territory continued on an increasing scale, but seemed to achieve little beyond killing noncombatants and destroying property. – *From The New York Times.*

The TVA plan is pure socialism. Our present system of taxation and relief is Communistic and the New Deal attitude toward business is Fascist. – *From a speech by Dr. William Starr Myers, professor of Politics at Princeton University, reported in The Boston Daily Record.*

Go Roll Off a Log

Within recent memory, it was a simple process for a man to leave to wife or child an income of $5,000 a year. All he had to do was to accumulate and invest the sum of $100,000. – *Richard L. Stokes in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

No Mole

Mr. Chamberlain takes pride in his fan-mail, in crowds that shout "we thank you" and in the circumstance that he is "the first son of Birmingham to become Prime Minister of the United Kingdom."

From some angles his strong profile reveals the rugged features of Lincoln. Yet with a difference. – *From the Sunday Book Section of The New York Times.*

Editor's Note

It is not often that The Spur enters controversy. Concerned with leisure interests of well-to-do Americans, it generally avoids reference to daily irritations from which its readers seek easement. There are times, however, when less-privileged members of the wide public, who fail to comprehend that men and women of proved responsibility may be trusted not to abuse their opportunities for pleasure, so challenge the right of our particular people to their hard-earned indulgences that it becomes necessary to clear the view. – *From an editorial note preceding publication of a series of articles on prohibition sentiments in The Spur.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the origi-

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Two Communications

On the Writing of History

SIR: Let me acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Hacker's review of the volumes of my work on the "Colonial Period of American History," and in doing so add such comments as are warranted by the character of his criticisms. The volumes have been received favorably by those whose judgment I value, and who are less influenced than is Mr. Hacker by a strong bias in favor of a purely economic interpretation of history in which I have little confidence.

In his review Mr. Hacker has violated one of the fundamental principles of good book reviewing, in that he has failed to find out and present to the reader what the author of a work is trying to do and to what extent he has accomplished his purpose. Necessarily an author must delimit his subject. The whole object of my study has been to present the institutional and structural aspect of the period, with very special reference to the English end of the story and to the continuing influence of the mother country upon the life, not of thirteen colonies only, but of all the English settlements in the western world. Of this point of view, which is the outstanding feature of all my volumes, Mr. Hacker gives no hint. I had no intention of dealing with the internal social and economic aspects of the colonies themselves. These may be taken up later, if I find myself able to continue the work.

That Mr. Hacker has chosen to emphasize what I have not done, rather than to explain what I have tried to do, at once lessens the value of his criticisms. He is too able a man not to have understood my purpose. More likely he preferred to ignore it as not to his liking, because he is strongly prepossessed in favor of history as the story of class conflict. All the critical comments in his review bear on that phase of the subject, seemingly without his realizing the fact that the conservative aspects of the past need to be considered equally with those that concern labor and the underprivileged. One must describe and explain the political and institutional framework before the place and life of the different classes of the people can be taken up and their status and influence determined. Because Mr. Hacker believes that those mainly responsible for the political structure—the conservative and governing classes—have been at all times aristocratic, selfish and consciously oppressive, he underrates their importance in the historical study of any period. In attempting to estimate this importance one is not necessarily a partisan.

It is this peculiar trend of his thought that explains Mr. Hacker's disparagements, otherwise it could be difficult to understand why he has chosen to introduce certain strictures into his review. I think that his characterization of my personal attitude should have been deleted. I am, I believe, entirely devoid of class-consciousness, and Mr. Hacker's opinion to the contrary is a curious commentary to come from one who is class-conscious to the core. As a historian I am neither conservative, liberal nor radical, but pos-

evidence leads and to accept the truth where I find it. Can Mr. Hacker say the same of himself? His remarks regarding what he thinks to be my favorable attitude toward the Stuart government in England are a case in point. I have distinctly said in one of my footnotes that I hold no brief for the Stuarts. But the most flagrant breach of good form lies in Mr. Hacker's few lines dealing with indentured servants. One would suppose from what he has said that I had discussed the indentured-servant class at length and adversely. In fact I hardly mention this class at all and when I do it is only incidentally. As I said above, my work is neither social nor economic and I have no occasion in it to comment on any economic or industrial problems or to pass judgment on any group or class of the community. It is my failure to deal with these subjects that annoys Mr. Hacker. By calling attention to what he considers my omissions he evidently hopes to show the reader that I have a bias against the laboring class and a preference for the conservative side in history. I have no such prepossession in either direction.

As to the features omitted, that charge could be repeated indefinitely. To have entered upon an analysis of the condition of the English copyholder and the colonial laborer was quite apart from my purpose and would only have served to enlarge the work beyond all reasonable bounds. Mr. Hacker must have realized this, but he says nothing about it in his review. His mind is centered on but one thing—the importance of labor and the economic conflict, which he thinks existed in the past as they do in the present. What he has written illustrates admirably the final note in the fourth volume of my work dealing with the economic interpretation of history—a note which he speaks of as "curious" but the argument in which he makes no effort to refute. In truth, Mr. Hacker's utterances are predetermined and not a little oracular. It would clarify his position if he would sometimes use the approved tools of the scholar and give the evidence on which he bases his statements. He can hardly expect the historian to accept as final his *ipse dixits*, unfortified by proof, a proof which in the vast majority of cases I am confident he cannot supply.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS

New Haven, Conn.

SIR: I regret exceedingly Professor Andrews' feeling that I have done less than justice to his intention. I will yield to none in my admiration for his very real accomplishment: his illumination of the complex processes by which legal and constitutional (largely) institutions were transferred from England to colonial America. It appeared to me that I pointed out these characteristics of his history in my review, at the same time calling attention to the fact that these were self-imposed limitations. For, it seemed to me, a broader canvas was necessary if, as Professor Andrews' title indicated, he meant to write upon "The Colonial Period of American History."

But our failure to agree has a broader base than he wishes to acknowledge. It flows out of our theories of history. I assume that the legal and constitutional institutions are superstructures erected on the essential foundations of the property relations; in other words, that the institutions can have no real meaning unless there is clear understanding first of the kind of economic and class society they are supposed to represent and defend. To Professor Andrews, the relationships I seek do not necessarily exist. His thought is, apparently, that he can talk of governmental devices without troubling to illuminate the forms of capitalist ownership and production among which they operate. I am frank to admit that there can be no reconciliation of these two viewpoints.

There are only two things to which I wish to call special attention. Professor Andrews has not answered my very serious charge that there has crept into his history what I must consider a fatal confusion: for, in the course of his narrative, he has changed the nature of the English state power. Up to the emergence of the critical period which ushers in the American Revolution, he is prepared to admit, the ruling class of England was made up of the merchant capitalists: and imperial policy, certainly from the Puritan Revolution on, was designed in their interests. Hence the particular imperial-colonial relations of mercantilism. But, if Professor Andrews had persisted in following through this analysis, he would have landed in my camp; that is, that the American Revolution arose out of the unequal status of the American economy as a result of mercantilism's colonial policy. So, a shift in mid-career takes place; and Professor Andrews arrives at the interesting (and necessary, for him) conclusion that just before the Revolution the English ruling class was made up not of the merchant capitalists but the squirarchy. This shift makes it possible for him to maintain that mercantilism had very little to do with the Revolution. It was a struggle between two different national cultures.

In the second place, Professor Andrews taxes me with being "predetermined and not a little oracular"; the implication being that he has painstakingly gone over the sources, while I, presumably, am talking only off the top of my head. Now this is a curious view of history: for it assumes the feasibility of the inductive method entirely. I deny this: for I believe that the deductive method (based upon general principles) is just as usable, provided the argument can be buttressed from evidence that does not have to be necessarily of a contemporary character. Thus, in the study of the critical period leading up to the American Revolution, Professor Andrews cannot refute my analysis by saying simply that I have no proof of any contemporary awareness of economic stresses and strains in the colonial America of the 1760's. For my reply is plausible enough. First: there is no necessity for assuming that persons caught in a situation will always be conscious of what lies at the heart of their difficulties. Second: frequently the slogans they use to announce their discontents are broadly and symbolically conceived in order to attract wide support. (Note the Puritan Revolution's use of religious slogans, the French Revolution's use of political slogans and the Nazis' use of national and racial slogans.) And, third: as historians we have our hindsight. We know that the American Revolution broke the mercantilist tie and that the American republic which followed the event was the opposite of the mercantilist state. I, at least in terms of my theory, can account for the nature of the profound economic transformation that took place as a result of the American Revolution. Can Professor Andrews say as much for his?

LOUIS M. HACKER

New York City

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Correspondence

Brouniana

SIR: I am frankly sick of the discussion of the boy and the cow story in "The Grapes of Wrath," but someone should clarify the point for Heywood Broun. There are *two* stories, one on page 94, one on page 214, one told by a sharecropper, the other told by a truck driver. So both Broun and his enemies are right.

LEROY BREUNIG JR.

Ithaca, N. Y.

SIR: It is not amazing in this age of intolerance and bigotry to read in the pages of The New Republic the reactions of certain readers to Mr. Heywood Broun's conversion to Catholicism. Their squeals of indignation are reminiscent of the days of 1928 when a "papist"—Alfred E. Smith by name—was wallowing knee-deep through the mire on the road leading up to the White House.

As a Catholic layman I take my hat off to Mr. Broun. I bid him welcome into the Holy Roman Church, and in Her words I say to him, "Pax tecum."

PAUL L. ROWELL

West Roxbury, Mass.

SIR: Your correspondents (in the issue of July 19) take it for granted that the Catholic Church is unqualifiedly on the side of reaction. It is true that some Catholics, including eminent leaders of the Church, have done their best to give that impression, but no one who reads the Catholic press can be deceived by them. There are Catholics, many of them, who are not anti-union or pro-fascist, and the least admirers of Heywood Broun can do is to assume, unless the contrary is proven, that he is taking his place among these progressives. I do not think he will have an easy time, and I should hate to be in his shoes, but I wish him well. Nothing could make matters more difficult for him, or give greater aid to the Catholic reactionaries, than the Know-nothingism of several of your correspondents.

GRANVILLE HICKS

Grafton, N. Y.

Educating Spaniards in France

SIR: Your reference in The New Republic of July 5 to Franco's destruction of education in Spain is interesting in the light of news recently released by M. Jean Cassou in his report of the work done by the Committee for Relief of Spanish Intellectuals with headquarters in Paris.

M. Cassou says that Franco's own minister of primary education, Señor Romualdo de Toledo, admits that the functioning of the primary schools is a virtual impossibility, with only 500 out of 2,250 primary school teachers of Madrid alone "rehabilitated" by the government. All the rest, says Sr. Toledo, were either perpetrators or victims of Red vengeance!

M. Cassou's figures indicate that there are still in the concentration camps approximately 1,250 teachers and professors, whose return to Spain is at present unthinkable. In France they are prepared, as best they can, to carry on their cultural labors; it is hoped that under the auspices of the French government in close consultation with the Spanish Federation of Educational Workers they can devote themselves to the task of in-

In the meantime, Americans can help. Funds are needed for the basic necessities—not only the food and clothes, but the paper and pencils, the pen and ink, dictionaries, books, sketching material, phonograph records—all those things which prove that a man does not live by bread alone. The Committee knows that readers of The New Republic have been generous and helpful in time of need; it knows too that need, unlike generous people, never takes a summer vacation. Contributions should be sent to Spanish Intellectual Aid, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Belvidere, N. J. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Harvard Professors

SIR: In your issue of June 14, Granville Hicks comments on the small number of Harvard faculty members who are of professorial rank, and the large number of teachers who hold temporary instructorships and lectureships. "These have always been the proportions," Hicks writes.

In the 1870's the faculties of leading American colleges and universities had from two-thirds to three-fourths of their teachers of professorial rank. Today about one-fourth or one-fifth are of this rank.

Mass-production and efficiency techniques have had the same effect in universities as in factories and on railroads. Incidentally, a review of these changes would strengthen the argument that Granville Hicks is making in this article.

Ridgewood, N. J. SCOTT NEARING

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Lynn Christy of State College, Pennsylvania, doesn't like our attitude toward the Catholic Church. He thinks it is "maddening that we print such obvious lies and patent slanders against the Church" and regards as "the crowning effrontery" our inclusion of the "prime samples of intolerance in the July 19 issue, the letters aimed at Heywood Broun." And John F. Nims of Chicago congratulates us "on the splendid irony with which we printed, in the same issue with the cool book review headed 'No Popery!' the amusingly hoarse letters" that Mr. Christy deplores. Miriam Horner of Stonington, Connecticut, says she "thinks the Catholic Church will profit greatly" by Heywood Broun's membership and, "incidentally, so will Heywood." Alfred M. Zisser of Buffalo, New York, reports that Father Coughlin in his July 16 broadcast referred to certain papers and magazines as "filthy." Included in this category was one named "The Republic." We've never heard of it.

Charles H. Bennett of Cambridge, Massachusetts, thanks us for Edmund Wilson's "penetrating and brilliant review of 'Finnegans Wake'" (The New Republic, June 28 and July 12) but thinks "the derogation excessive." On the other hand, George Seibel of Pittsburgh, who thinks that almost everything Edmund Wilson writes is good, wants to know why we "let him waste eight or ten pages on the dull and disgusting drivel of an insane etymologist."

E. Sylvia Pankhurst, editor of The New Times and Ethiopia News, 3 Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, England, asks us to print an advertisement to enlist subscriptions for her struggling paper. The famous suffragette promises her readers "regular news of the Ethiopian struggle every week" and

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Books in Review

Personal Historian

ONCE UPON A TIME newspapers told the truth: *i. e.*, they reported that so-and-so, of such-and-such a place, fell out of a tenth-story window at such-and-such an hour, leaving a bereaved wife and three small children to fend for themselves. This was all very well in the days before economics had hit the front page and the invention of the airplane and the submarine had busted the earth's prime foundation, which had been the British battleship. Today, however, the truth is no longer to be found in "spot" news; the truth hides coyly in the impalpable relationships that exist between spot events, it peeps out of configurations and patterns, it is elusive, shifty, forever arguable. The spot event must be related to pressures everywhere, to ideas evolved long ago, to hopes projected far ahead. Inasmuch as such subtle balancing of past, present and future demands an exercise of the imagination, there can be no such thing as complete "objectivity": imagination begins in sympathetic identification with processes and pressures, ideas and hopes. Unwilling to admit this, the daily newspaper remains an anachronism; it is no longer a fit medium for enlightenment. Given luck and financial backing, Mr. Ralph McAllister Ingersoll's proposed "interpretative" daily should score heavily at the expense of the traditional newspaper; meanwhile, the best of our reporters—John Gunther, Vincent Sheean—have been forced to create their own medium, the medium of what Jay Allen calls book journalism.

Mr. Sheean's "Personal History" remains the best example of the new book journalism to date; it had the advantage of being published during one of time's caesuras, just after Hitler's success in Germany had signaled the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. But Mr. Sheean's latest work, "Not Peace But a Sword,"[1] which attempts to disentangle a pattern from a flux of events that is still running strong, is pretty good book journalism, too. Its time span is short, covering only the last part of the Spanish civil war and the "peace with honor" that was Munich. But the "personal historian" who is steeped in the past and full of hopes (and an illusion or two) for the future is very much with us: we get little in "Not Peace But a Sword" that is not weighed, pondered and assessed in terms of a dynamic philosophy of history that links up with the Sheean who sat at Borodin's feet in Hankow more than a decade ago and the Sheean who hopes to be reporting the events of fascism's bloody collapse on the day after tomorrow.

During the two years of "Not Peace But a Sword," Mr. Sheean wandered from London to Spain, from Spain to the meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee at Evian (where the plight of the Jews was discussed and forgotten in almost the same breath), from Evian to Prague, and from Prague back to Spain. Mr. Sheean had much to say during his peregrinations about the movement of crowds, the dunderheadedness of statesmen, and the linked sadism and masochism that are the psychological marks of fascism. As a writer of crowd stories, Mr. Sheean is passable; crowd stories are apt to be dull, anyway, although city editors persist in trying to dress them up as literature. As an excoriator of the dunderheadness of Neville Chamberlain and the perfidy of Georges Bonnet, Mr. Sheean is as good as the next person. And as an observer of fascism, Mr. Sheean is both horrified and sensitive. But in none of these things is Mr. Sheean at his best; his real skill comes out when he is in a simple mood of reflection, or when he is taking an individual as symbolic or significant of something that transcends the individual's own importance.

The finest thing in the book by all odds is the chapter called "The Last Volunteer," which is the story of Jim Lardner's enlistment in the International Brigade. Sheean's talents were made for elegy that blends regret for the past and fighting hope for the future, and here they have full play. Sheean pictures Jim Lardner as a complex mixture of animal spirits and stubborn purpose, a curious merger of Ring Lardner's own happy quizzical quality and a young man's political imagination. One almost wishes that Mr. Sheean had built his entire book around personalities; certainly we could stand more detailed portraits of people like Milt Wolff, Commander of the Lincoln Battalion. Mr. Sheean offers us a tantalizing glimpse of an Anarcho-Syndicalist arguing with a Marxist about the Church and the Virgin Mary; he gives us dissolving flashes of Madrileños speaking the name of their city as if it were an amorous incantation. But there isn't enough of this sort of thing: the "personal historian" must get back to history in its long perspectives.

Sometimes the long perspectives are good; the ruminative chapter on England's blindness, strung on the device of a bus trip around London, is magnificent reverie. Sometimes Mr. Sheean's calculations are unanswerable, as when he tells the various governments of the world just how they could absorb Germany's 600,000 Jews without strain or economic loss. In general, however, the perspectives suffer because Mr. Sheean has lost touch with the prairie towns of his Midwestern American youth; he forgets that our forty-eight states are not inexorably hitched to the same tragic tether as Europe's thirty-odd nations, none of which is compatible with the high technology that demands a larger regional integration than heretofore. When Mr. Sheean is discussing the French post-war system he knows that fascism is a result of a deeper malaise; but when he looks at fascism itself he tends to forget this. His book thus becomes schizophrenic, its dual aspect illustrated by the alternating chastisements of the United States Congress for neutrality legislation and simple reflection that when World War No. 2 does break out it will start as an old-fashioned defense of British and French imperial possessions.

Arguing with Mr. Sheean about ultimate questions of United States foreign policy, however, is likely to b

[1] Not Peace But a Sword, by Vincent Sheean. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 367 pages. $2.75. (Publication

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the western European cities; and my criticism of Mr. Sheean is grounded in a personal distaste for life in Europe that dates back to 1924, which was long before fascism had become a world menace. I remember a French peasant woman coming into France from Italy exclaiming: *"Nom d'un chien, quelle administration,"* at some last petty indignity of search at the frontier. She was only traveling a few miles—the equivalent, say, of a trip from Trenton, New Jersey, to Baltimore, Maryland—yet to the customs officials it was as if she were voyaging to the Antipodes. The instance is trivial, but it has always stayed in my mind as symbolic of Europe's disease, which, as I say, is something that goes much, much deeper than fascism. Mr. Sheean, whose mind is Europeanized, can't feel that way about it—and his longest perspective is thereby falsified for the American minority (?) which thinks Mr. Borah makes uncommonly good sense these days.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Doctors in a Dilemma

The Economic Aspects of Medical Services, by Paul A. Dodd and E. F. Penrose. Washington: Graphic Arts Press. 522 pages. $3.75.
Health Insurance with Medical Care: The British Experience, by Douglass W. Orr and Jean Walker Orr. New York: The Macmillan Company. 289 pages. $2.50.
American Medicine Mobilizes, by James Rorty. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 358 pages. $3.
Medicine at the Crossroads, by Bertram M. Bernheim. New York: William Morrow and Company. 256 pages. $2.50.

IT IS ONLY CAUSE AND EFFECT for one extreme to breed its opposite. Thanks to the violent and dramatic opposition of the leaders of the American Medical Association, social medicine has become a subject for wide discussion. People everywhere are beginning to recognize that most Americans receive woefully inadequate care during illness, in spite of our possession of more medical personnel and facilities than any other country. Against these accumulating facts, the American Medical Association's denials sound increasingly hollow. Although the four volumes listed above vary greatly in their approach and specific subject matter, they all revolve around this central theme. By facts and figures they refute the contentions of the AMA one after another.

Professors Dodd and Penrose begin by revealing the inadequacy of medical care in one of our wealthiest and most progressive states—California. By maintaining an old-fashioned partiality and refusing to emasculate every phrase in the manner of the modern many-tomed foundation studies, the authors bring out their facts sharply and readably. Their book reports the findings of the California Medical-Economic Survey, based on personal visits to about 20,000 families, covering about 66,000 persons, in twenty-six of the fifty-eight counties of the state. Its findings parallel those of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care and the United States Public Health Service, proving that our information on this problem is comprehensive and accurate. The story in brief is that the lower income groups far from more and longer illnesses than other groups; do not obtain medical care, and that the obstacle standing between our ample supply of medical facilities, idle doctors and nurses and the mass of unattended ill is that of costs.

Among the 14 percent reporting need for medical care at the time of the interview, the need was found to vary inversely with income, while medical diagnosis and treatment varied directly with income. Thus, the families with annual incomes under $500 needed more than twice as much medical care as those with incomes above $2,000 a year—21.9 percent as against less than 10 percent. The poor were found to suffer more than the wealthier groups from all but two or three types of diseases; yet they received incomparably less medical treatment:

> Less than 60 percent of the people of this state who are in need of medical care are receiving such care. Only 56 percent of those with incomes of less than $3,000 per year—including almost 90 percent of the total population of the state—are receiving the care that is needed. . . . In Los Angeles . . . 45 percent of those needing attention do not receive it.

The medical practitioners, so the survey disclosed, are hardly less victimized than the patients. In 1933 over half of the California doctors received net incomes of less than $3,000. Nearly three-fourths of the dentists earned less than $3,000.

Dr. and Mrs. Orr carry on the case against the AMA where Professors Dodd and Penrose leave off, by exposing its ignorant and baseless criticism of health insurance. Their book is the best study of the British system of health insurance so far published in this country. After describing how the system works, with its auxiliary medical services, the Orrs summarize the reactions of the insured workers, the medical profession and the general public. As for the workers, they "left no doubt in our minds that health insurance has made a contribution to their security and that of their families." As for the British doctors, the Orrs interviewed a large number of them and found that they did not agree with the AMA opinion of the British system. The medical secretary of the British Medical Association wrote the authors, "Yes, by and large we like National Health Insurance. *It has helped us and our patients.* [Italics mine.] But we should like to see it extended both to provide a more comprehensive medical service and to include a larger proportion of the population." As for the general public, its attitude is that "National Health Insurance has been an important step forward and has already brought untold comfort to the workers and stability to the medical profession."

From where, then, do the AMA calamity reports about conditions in England come? The authors hint at one source: the "London correspondent" of The AMA Journal, who is not a member of the British Medical Association and is hardly known to medical leaders in England. The other sources are still a mystery. The Orrs say: "We read The Times and The Manchester Guardian daily; we perused The Spectator and The New Statesman, not to mention Punch, weekly; we visited Parliament and the Ministry of Health; we talked with Conservatives, Laborites and surviving Liberals—we did all these things, and our impression tallies with what is summarized above. Only in The Chicago Sunday Tribune did we ever read that health insurance has bound English doctors and work-

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How did the great and honorable medical profession maneuver itself into such an obstructionist position? asks the reader. Both Mr. Rorty and Dr. Bernheim attempt to answer this question. Mr. Rorty's book will prove helpful for a more profound understanding of the underlying problem because it sheds much light upon some of the obstacles to health insurance and how they came to exist. He says that the doctor, confronted with the inherent conflict of medical practice as a business and a profession, is easily misled by the "state within a state"—the hierarchy of the AMA. For, although the AMA is democratically organized and controlled, it is led primarily by a small and entrenched bureaucracy headed by the suave Dr. Morris Fishbein, the editor of its Journal. It holds the doctors together because it is the average doctor's sole information on all medical problems. Since The Journal is a big business and is the AMA's "reliable breadwinner," its advertising supporting many of the AMA activities, it is driven to become more and more a business enterprise with business methods and alliances.

The fight by the AMA bureaucracy against every attempt, lay or professional, to put the true facts before the public makes a sordid story. The unbalanced opposition of The Journal to the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care and the Milbank Memorial Fund, its baseless attacks on the British system of health insurance and its bitter denunciation of the several hundred outstanding American physicians who merely questioned the wisdom of its obstructionist policies, are pages that will shame AMA members for many years to come. Mr. Rorty treats all these subjects in a vigorous fashion. His exposition of the tie-up between the AMA hierarchy and the drug-and-cigarette interests is also worth while, even if this case will not seem fully proved to all readers.

Dr. Bernheim's book is as welcome as it is timely. It was hardly conceivable that the great men in the medical profession would remain silent for long when the entrenched leaders of the AMA were converting it into the laughing stock of the nation, permitting it even to be dragged before the courts. The author—a well known surgeon and associate professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins—fully supports Mr. Rorty's case. According to Dr. Bernheim, the chief trouble arises from the fact that while young American doctors are given the best medical education in the world, they learn nothing about the social and economic aspects of medicine. Since doctors read little else than medical journals, they fall easy prey to the medico-economic charlatans. "Had there been," he says, "in our ranks men who brought the same breadth of vision to bear upon the social and economic aspects of medicine that they applied to medical research, the course of events might have been different."

Charging the AMA hierarchy with failure to provide "strong, intelligent leadership," Dr. Bernheim warns his profession that the third party in medicine will not remain silent forever. Competent business management or an arrangement by which doctors would be paid on a salary basis could only improve their own lot. He heaps ridicule on the AMA wailings that any change in the present system of medical payments would shatter the doctor-patient relationship and endanger the quality of medicine. Not only do the poor enjoy no such relationship but even those who do not complain of its lack in such institutions as the Mayo Clinic. Also, "a good doctor will do a good job under any circumstances, while the opposite is true of a poor one."

The inadequacy of medical care and the urgent need are thus definitely established. Not so, however, the hope that this need will be properly met in the near future. The cry for action so far has been limited to the writers of books and Washington officials. No mass-pressure groups have yet developed. Even among those who cry loudest for action, few commit themselves to anything definite. The congressional bill now receiving the greatest public attention was not devised to fight for a definite principle, but seems to have been deliberately made vague and indefinite in order to win over the opposition by enticing salesmanship. At the same time, the sound program of health insurance embodied in the model bill of the American Association for Social Security, which has been before Congress and many state legislatures for a number of years, is purposely ignored. Of the four books reviewed here only Mr. Rorty's displays an awareness of these bills. Yet the AMA hierarchy will not be really threatened until writers on medical care possess the courage not only to ask for action but also to fight for concrete measures.

ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

Go to the Ant!

Of Ants and Men, by Caryl P. Haskins. New York: Prentice-Hall. 252 pages, illustrated. $2.75.

BROTHER ANT, whose myriad virtues and fabulous social genius we have been exhorted to admire, emulate and envy since the days of Aesop, is now discovered to have originated the principles, and thoroughly explored the possibilities, of both fascism and communism. "Totalitarianism" in all its forms, to say nothing of slavery, war, feudalism, urbanism, colonial expansion, imperialist and democratic societies, have been rife in ant communities for a paltry fifty million years, more or less. And what shall we say of the Australian Ponerines, a marauding species exhibiting all the ferocity and aggressiveness of certain "have-not" nations among *homo sapiens?*

Dr. Haskins, a naturalist of great ability and fine gifts as a story-teller, may be guilty of bad sociology and naïve economics, but his knowledge of ants is beyond reproach, and he has written a book crammed with fascinating information about their ways. You read of the extraordinary development of agricultural civilizations among the Myrmicines, which also have experimented with elaborate colonial and democratic forms; the restless conquistador hunting communities of the Dorylines; the city-building genius of the Formicines, highly centralized about their queens, with an elaborate caste system of workers; of the warrior Azteca species, endlessly creating and destroying its own despotic states. And innumerable other groups and sub-groups exhibiting, in their reactions to a hostile environment, a versatility of response and talent for organization little short of miraculous.

It is tempting, indeed, but dangerous, to follow Dr. Haskins in his bracketing of every type of human culture with one or another form of ant society, or to believe that merely by thoroughly studying the latter we humans can

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book is an absorbing and highly instructive contribution to natural history, deserving a place on the shelves beside the works of Lord Avebury, Auguste Forel and Thomas Belt.

HAROLD WARD

A Little Englander

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt: 1840-1922, by Edith Finch. London: Jonathan Cape. 415 pages. 15 shillings.

THE BIOGRAPHER of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt has a peculiarly difficult task. It is not the lack of material but the abundance of it that is embarrassing. Moreover, the biographer is in competition with the subject. Blunt was writing his own biography all his life, in his poetry and in his diaries; and it is impossible in a summary to reproduce the spontaneous freshness and vigor of the contemporary record. Nevertheless, Miss Finch has shown skill in selecting and weaving together passages of verse and prose upon the modest frame of her own narrative.

Blunt was born in the lower aristocracy, the squirarchy, and, in spite of his recalcitrant attitude, he maintained his relations with his own set and profited by an enormous acquaintance to control extraordinary sources of information on subjects which interested him. Of these the chief was the British Empire. After a brief career in the diplomatic service he became acquainted with the Arab world through journeys in western Asia. His entry into public life, in which he was an unofficial but active participant, came through his interest in Egypt. He was an ardent supporter of the nationalistic party led by Arabi Pasha, and bitterly condemned the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet, and the invasion which resulted in the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. By arranging for the defense of Arabi, for which he paid largely out of his own pocket, he saved his country from the crime of murder. Thereafter he established himself in a residence near Cairo, and became a thorn in the flesh of Lord Cromer and the British administration of Egypt.

Turning from Egypt to Ireland, he supported the nationalists in the Land War, and served a term in prison for holding meetings in defiance of Balfour's coercion act. He opposed British policy in the Sudan, the "appeasement" plan of Gordon and the conquest of Kitchener. He was against the Boer War. He saw the dividing of Africa among the European powers as slavery on a large scale. Instead of transporting men from their homes to distant lands, in this case a whole continent was enslaved, the inhabitants being forced to surrender their lands and work them for the benefit of their conquerors.

In all this Blunt stood forth as a moral man in immoral society, and he derived a satisfaction not denied to the righteous of seeing their enemies brought to confusion. The final retribution was the World War, for which the long and evil preparation was recorded in Blunt's series of secret histories, culminating in "My Diaries." His enjoyment of this task was intense, and reflected in the vivacity with which he wrote. Miss Finch quotes his remark: "There is nothing really so comic as history for those who live to see both sides of the joke."

His sonnet on Gibraltar is one of

Ay, this is the famed rock which Hercules
And Goth and Moor bequeathed us. At this door
England stands sentry. God! to hear the shrill
Sweet treble of her fifes upon the breeze,
And at the summons of the rock gun's roar
To see her redcoats marching from the hill.

Yet it was as a squire, working his own lands and directing his tenantry, that Blunt was at his best. "I should be delighted," he wrote, "to see England stripped of her whole foreign possessions. We were better off and more respected in Queen Elizabeth's time, the 'spacious days' when we had not a stick of territory outside the British Islands, than now, and infinitely more respectable. The gangrene of colonial rowdyism is infecting us, and the habit of repressing liberty in weak nations is endangering our own. I should be glad to see the end."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

The Police State

Fascism for Whom? by Max Ascoli and Arthur Feiler. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 341 pages. $3.

AN ITALIAN AND A GERMAN here write of the rise and progress of fascism, and of its meaning for mankind. What they say is important.

This latter-day tyranny, the authors believe, "originates in the unfulfilled promises of democracy"—that is, in the failure of modern society to achieve an equitable distribution of well-being and security. Moreover Fascist politicians could not win power but for the doubts, the hesitancies, the half-hearted struggle of men for such a democracy. For all too many men, fascism offers an easy way out of the embarrassments of such a struggle. Yet ultimately fascism is profoundly revolutionary, even for those who hope to profit by it. Ascoli and Feiler conclude that fascism is a crisis of Western civilization, a crisis that necessarily confronts Americans.

It is unfortunate that the authors, after pointing to the basis of fascism, do not show clearly what were the "unfulfilled promises" of Italian and German democracy, nor precisely how those promises were broken. Dr. Ascoli, in describing the rise of Italian fascism, focuses his attention on the events of 1918-22. The Blackshirt movement thus appears merely as a resolution of social conflicts inherited from the War. But, more fundamentally, was it not a culminating phase of the long struggle for and against economic democracy? The movement for reform was frustrated by its own mistaken tactics and by the stubborn resistance of vested interests. Fascism was grounded on that frustration. It is true that fascism won support from men of all classes, because it spoke to them in terms of their varied fears and hopes. But decisive in the Blackshirt victory was the conviction of traditional ruling circles that they "must teach a lesson" to organized labor and the reformist parties.

Dr. Ascoli's account of fascism's further progress, however, penetrates deeply. The basic principle of the new rulers is that their power be preserved and extended. Thus they are driven on, seizing and reshaping one institution after another. Their will-to-power becomes an end in itself, and the Fascist tyranny subjugates even those social groups that had once welcomed it. The totality of the

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"energizing" of democratic tools against democratic goals.

According to Dr. Feiler, the promises of German democracy remained unfulfilled because the old social powers were left intact after 1918—particularly, the anti-democratic forces of the army, big business and landed aristocracy. Official socialism petrified into a routine bureaucracy. The German Republicans were "not fervent enough to overcome the inheritance of the past," and their state failed to win that attraction "which is indispensable to every state if it expects to be backed by its people in stormy days." Only the economic convulsions after 1928 were needed to complete the disillusionment and give absolute power to a movement that preached energetically in the languages of emotional nationalism and anti-capitalist socialism.

In both countries the results are decisively alike: An omnipotent, all-embracing Police State; erosion of the traditional capitalist economy; exaltation of warlike rather than businesslike ends; a sinking material plane of life; cultural decadence. No one benefits—except "possibly the self-perpetuating oligarchy of major and minor chiefs," the new ruling class. Yet fascism is not entirely negative. The authors note elements of positive strength, often overlooked: its youth movement, its Dopolavoro and Strength through Joy, its glorification of national virtues, its constant hammering at common men's emotions. In such ways, fascism strives to identify itself with the faiths and loyalties of its subjects. Moreover, the Fascist regimes are strengthened by the irresolution of men outside Italy and Germany, and because some of these men in their fear prepare the way for further Fascist conquests. Here are reasons why moral and material degradation need not lead to "the inevitable collapse" of fascism.

CARL T. SCHMIDT

New Books: A Reader's List

ESTHETIC MOTIVE, by Elisabeth Schneider (Macmillan, $1.75). A series of essays on the function of art, summarizing and interpreting various psychological, biological and critical approaches. As a personal statement it is dignified and intelligent, but lacks the necessary flair and special humor needed to make this sort of discussion interesting to the non-academic public or genuinely suggestive to the student.

SEVEN LEAN YEARS, by T. J. Woofter Jr. and Ellen Winston (North Carolina, $1.50). A study of the rural classes in America which today are producing and educating 30 percent of the nation's children on only 9 percent of its income, with an analysis of the background and causes of their distress—falling agricultural prices, soil depletion and erosion, mechanization of farming, etc. Objective, comprehensive job.

DICTATORSHIP IN THE MODERN WORLD, edited by Guy Stanton Ford (Minnesota, $3.50). Revised and enlarged edition of a symposium on modern dictatorship which evaluates its basic pattern, its manifestations in various countries and its influence on millions throughout the world. The ten out of fifteen papers which are new display the same excellent scholarship that marked the

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NORTHERN LIGHTS, by Desmond Holdridge (Viking, $2.75). In 1925, with two companions, the author sailed to Hudson Strait in the "Dolphin," the smallest boat ever to reach that far north. They found a coast more rugged than Norway, Eskimo inhabitants still cheerful in spite of near-annihilation by influenza, and hardy Labrador fishermen. A good adventure, vividly told.

ON REREADING CHAUCER, by Howard R. Patch (Harvard, $2.50). A good example of the compatibility of scientific scholarship with genuine enthusiasm. The author's feeling for Chaucer is just, at times illuminating, but his analysis emphasizes "humor" and "sanity" in a manner suggesting the overworked generalizations about Shakespeare's "knowledge of the human heart." Primarily for readers familiar with Chaucer.

THE FLYING DUTCHMAN, by Michael Arlen (Doubleday, Doran, $2). Here is a complete bag of tricks: cock-eyed playboy and pals, wisecracks in every key, fake-serious characterization and a few candid shots of fascism, communism and world politics. Mr. Arlen promises the reader the study of a heroically anti-social central figure, but he gets somehow lost in the maze of wit.

Contributors

GEORGE SELDES is the author, among other books, of "Lords of the Press," which was not reviewed by 95 percent of the big press. His new book, "The Catholic Crisis," will be published in the fall.

S. I. HAYAKAWA is a member of the Department of Language and Literature at the Armour Institute of Technology. During the past year he conducted an experimental Freshman English Course based on semantics methods in the University of Wisconsin Extension Division. His volume, "Oliver Wendell Holmes," in the American Writers' Series, will appear this summer.

EDMUND STEVENS is the Moscow correspondent of The Manchester Guardian.

LEONARD LUDWIN has traveled extensively in Central Asia. He writes and lectures on economics and international affairs.

HILDEGARDE FLANNER has contributed verse to many periodicals and published a book of verse, "Time's Profile."

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ABRAHAM EPSTEIN, executive secretary of the American Association for Social Security, is the author of several books on social insurance, including "Insecurity: A Challenge to America."

HAROLD WARD's special interest is in the social implications of science and technology, a subject on which he contributes frequently to various periodicals.

CARL T. SCHMIDT is a lecturer in Economics at Columbia University. He is the author of "The Corporate State in Action: Italy Under Fascism."

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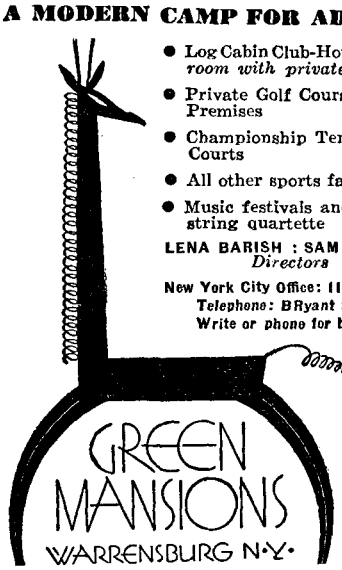

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